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Shkoder Man Seeks Asylum in Greek Embassy

NC1504195590 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1830 GMT 15 Apr 90

[Text] Albanian (Bernard Chok Kiti), 30, from Shkoder sought refuge in the Greek Embassy in Tirana this morning. (Kiti), who is a Catholic, sought political and religious asylum in the Greek Embassy. The Greek Government intends to ask the Albanian Government to apply the international procedures foreseen for similar cases so that the issue may be settled in a friendly manner.

Turkey Signs Telecommunications Agreement

AU1504164390 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 15 Apr 90

[Text] Tirana, April 15 (ATA)—At the invitation of the PTT General Department of the Republic of Turkey, in the framework of "The agreement in the field of post-telecommunications between the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the government of the Republic of Turkey," the first meeting of the Joint Albanian-Turkish Working Commission was held in Ankara from April 9-14.

On this occasion the draft agreements on cooperation and protocol in the field of posts and telecommunications between the two countries were signed. Likewise, the agreement for the inauguration of the Accelerated Post Service (EMS) between the two PTT administrations was signed. For the Albanian party the agreement was signed by the vice-director general of Albania's PTT, Met Rreli, and for the Turkish party by the vice-director general of Turkey's PTT, Osman Gozum. Likewise, the Albanian delegation was received by the director general of Turkey's PTT, Emin Baser.

Carcani Greets Greece's Mitsotakis on Appointment

AU1404133190 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] Tirana, April 14 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, has sent the following message of greetings to the premier of the Greek Republic, Konstantin Mitsotakis:

On occasion of your assignment to the high post of the premier of the Greek Republic, I convey to you sincere greetings and my best wishes.

I avail myself of the opportunity to express my conviction that the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Albania and Greece will be further promoted in the future to the benefit of our two neigbouring peoples and countries, peace, and cooperation in our region.

Article Views Book Alleging Security Abuses

AU1604164090 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Apr 90 p 11

[Ismail Kadare article: "An Important Novel in Albanian Literature" from the "Selected Texts" feature]

[Text] **Neshat Tozaj, author of the novel "Knives" published last year, describes a bunch of employees of various ranks, intoxicated with power, who trample upon the rights of individuals and of their nation, maltreat these people, thrust them in prison, and make their life a hell—something which happens once and never again.**

The title of Neshat Tozaj's novel is directly tied to its subject, which is a knife used to puncture the tires of cars of foreign embassies in Tirana. One first thinks of an act attempting to sour Albania's relations with these countries, and it is quite logical that this is also the first thought to occur to the employees of the Albanian State Security when they start to investigate this affair.

However, it is soon discovered that the tire-slashing is not in any way a politically motivated act, but simply the handiwork of a psychopathic woman. The first, highly sensational file must therefore be closed and a second, simpler one, opened in order to deal with the malicious activities of an irresponsible person. However, some employees at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are sorry to close the first file. It is all too tempting and involves their careers; they can profit from it, and it is also in line with what they have been doing for many years. It justifies their abuse of power, their violations of democracy, and the whole gamut of moral and political perversions in their work.

At this point they stray from the right path, which would involve a simple investigation of a simple incident, and fight tooth-and-claw for the first file, the bogus one. They falsify the entire incident, and turn the deed of a psychopath into organized, hostile activity. They "transform" the psychopathic woman and the people who have some chance connection with the knife she uses into a clandestine, hostile organization linked with foreign countries, and so forth. In order to accomplish this serious deception, they have to carry out bogus investigations and violate civil and human rights with imprisonments, internments, and impermissible and anticonstitutional forms of duress. In short, many human lives are pitilessly and unscrupulously ruined in order that a group of degenerate and sadistic employees can achieve their aims.

Drunk With Power and Its Abuse

This is the plot of the novel "Knives," one of the most impressive to be published in Albanian literature in recent years. The novel gives a precise answer to the question of how such a thing could happen, and how such an evil took root and prospered from year to year. On page 249 of the book, which describes a party Central Committee plenum, we read: "The plenum's question

was devastating: Why have all the diabolical plots against Albania so far been exposed by the party and not by State Security?"

This fatal question explains many things, and one of these is the internal logic of this diabolical phenomenon, which dictates that if you do not fight against real evil, you will make up an imaginary evil to combat, concocted by yourself according to the fatal models provided by the Middle Ages and the Inquisition.

At the end of the novel, we read: "When he reached the checkpoint of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, he glanced at his watch. The massive building was impressive... The party would need to work hard and for a long time to strip this ministry of its mythology and destroy the cult of security... What the enemy had done in 40 years must be undone in a very short time."

Page by page and chapter by chapter, "Knives" demonstrates in masterly fashion how dangerous it is when vicious, unscrupulous, and devilish people rise to high office, becoming even directors and ministers. The novel pitilessly portrays an entire gallery of such types. Their first characteristic trait is their intoxication with power and its abuse. They carry out their work, day and night, in a kind of sick state of elation. They are devoid of all social or patriotic conscience. Albania, socialism, and the socialist state are for them merely empty words to mouth at meetings. In waging the class war, they are convinced that there should be no democracy in socialism. Some of them are incompetent mediocrities who envy the able and talented. Being uncivilized and uncultured, they hate those who are civilized and cultured and can hardly wait for the latter to fall into their clutches for them to exact their revenge, in other words, to use violence against them. Like most jealous and mean-minded people, they suffer from an inferiority complex, and the violence they use against people and their violations of the law and democracy provide them with satisfaction and the illusion of being superior to others.

Besides these people themselves, a horde of flatterers at different levels of society has for years encouraged this false sense of superiority which in "Knives" is rightly called "the cult of the security services," a term actually used in party documents. This rabble consisted of vicious and immoral people in whose interest it was to suck up to these employees, unprincipled people to whom it seemed a way of getting on in life, those who have their class privileges (such is the irony of fate) who were frightened, and finally some conformist writers and especially filmmakers who did this sort of thing out of mean self-interest or because that was the way they were inclined.

Thus it happened that these employees of a government ministry took it upon themselves to announce themselves to be above everybody else, above the nation, the state, and the party, and who received privileges and flattery. In short, they were "cocks of the walk!" However, only a thoroughly diseased society can make its own employees "cocks of the walk." Modern Albanian society could never tolerate them, and this was the first reason for their downfall.

Silent Heroes, or a Reproach of the Cult

It must be said that, just as in other walks of life, there were among them people who sacrificed everything for their country, genuine people who labored and struggled day and night for the people, wise and undaunted investigators who tackled the enemy day and night, in the field and in their offices, who left their children fatherless when they gave their lives grappling with the enemy in desolate, remote areas, on the border, in winter: in short, all those who are rightly called "silent heroes," because they fought without fuss and above all because they fought a genuine, not an invented evil. The very phrase "silent heroes" is significant, because it is, among other things, a reproach to the cult and publicity sought by the others. It is in the logic of things that the author Neshat Tozaj, himself a worker at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and who has expressed his admiration of true heroism in his works, is disgusted and outraged in his book "Knives" at the obverse side of this phenomenon and the corruption of those who should have been the servants of the people and not their masters.

It is in general difficult for a collection of laws of justice to become masters of the people for a long time. This has been especially impossible for the Albanian people.

There are several reasons for the Albanian people's special sensitivity to this. As indigenous Europeans and contemporaries and neighbors of the ancient Greeks and the Romans, the Albanian people have ancient judicial traditions. A people's concepts of justice are among their principal treasures. Among the Albanians, they are evident in their thousand-year old customary code, among the most original in the history of mankind [reference to the "Canon of Leke Dukagjini"]. Among the pillars of this code is the equality of male persons before the code (before judgment and the law), and the nonabuse of rights.

When the French Revolution announced its famous Declaration of the Rights of Man 200 years ago, this was doubtless based on all the world's thinking about rights which mankind had produced through so many quandaries and difficulties during the centuries. The Albanian people are one of the few in the community of peoples which had such a treasure, and not only in a few formulations in the shape of moral maxims or instructions, such as the Assyrian-Babylonian "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," but in a true constitution which included every aspect of life. Paragraphs 887 and 888 of this code (as systemized by Stjefen Gjecovi in 1927) laid down quite clearly hundreds of years ago, people equality before the law of the Canon. (The price of a person's life is) the same both for the good and the bad. Everyone holds himself straight and says to himself "I

am a man," and people say to him "Are you a man?" [traditional Albanian colloquial greeting]

Thousand-Year-Old Customary Code

The entire essence of the customary code of the Albanians lies in respecting this basic principle with unprecedented rigor, and the preservation of the dignity of a man and his honor, his dwelling, and his life. In other words, the respect even in a primitive sense of his rights as a person. (Unfortunately, this principle did not include women, which is this code's tragic flaw.)

This is another reason why problems of democracy, respect for the law, and human rights arouse special interest among us, as among all civilized peoples. These problems cannot be either explained or overcome with stereotyped cosmopolitan, rightist, or leftist formulas, but must be confronted realistically and concretely. It must be said that they are still little examined in Albanian literature, which does this literature no honor.

The serious examination of a people's essential problems, whether in literature, art, sociology, or journalism, in the final analysis shows the respect in which sociologists, academics, or historians hold their own people. This respect cannot be shown by stale slogans, or by tacking the word "people" on the end. It first of all demands a deep understanding of things, and a knowledge of history and the aspirations of the nation one belongs to. Problems of democracy and citizens' rights are closely tied to respect for your people. Their violation means a loss of respect, and thus a fatal separation from your people.

The Albanians are not a large people in number, but they have an old and dramatic history. The common merits of a people before history are the sum of the merits of its separate, innumerable individuals. The relation between the total of merits and the number of individuals who have accumulated them defines the unerasable sociogenetic make-up of a people. The smaller a people is in number, the greater is the share of the burden which each individual is compelled to carry on his shoulders, through the years and millennia. It is only by being aware of this that a writer, prosecutor, historian, or policeman will be in a position to understand what a person is, a person of their Albanian nation, what general value he has, and how he must be protected and respected.

The Drama of a Case-File and Literary Mastery

As mentioned above, this relates to all the Albanians' philosophy and thinking about the position of a male in society. In this case, an individual as a whole being is inviolable both in principle and physically, and thus cannot be subjected to violence or destroyed. Any violation of this is the greatest disaster for which the culprit pays with his own head. If a man was offended or unfairly assaulted, the culprit was killed. Life and the times stood firm on this point. The Canon demanded a reason! This was the terrible formula to which the culprit had to reply.

However harsh, limited, and often logical but equally often illogical this customary code was, it was strong in its defense of human dignity, and this has played a major role in the psychic constitution of the Albanian and his measures of self-defense down the centuries.

Resisting the temptation of any kind of nationalist inflation and still more any elitist temptation to be a chosen people, a special people, and so forth, of the kind which has not been lacking in the past, we can nevertheless say that the rational essence of the national pride, about which the poets of this country have said and written so much, can and must be grasped. If a person is offended or a right is violated, this is sad and unacceptable for every people and every country. However, for us who know the history of the Albanian people, the almost 2,000-year-old oppression they have confronted, and the dimensions of the drama of endurance in which each has played a part, it is doubly, triply sad and unacceptable. An Albanian is offended, an unfairly convicted person is trampled on...

The times, life, and the writer's pen must stand firm.

Like the writer Neshat Tozaj, when his work acquainted him with the history of the "Knives" and led him to write about it [sentence as published].

He has witnessed to us with passion and art (those who expected more art from this novel have perhaps not considered that the art of writing sometimes shows itself in different ways, and that even the composition, rhythm, and drama of a case-file call for as much skill as a sophisticated work), and has thus told us about a bunch of employees of various ranks, intoxicated with power, who trample on the rights of individuals and of their nation, maltreat these people, thrust them in prison, and make their life a hell—something which happens once and never again. Because, as "Knives" shows, they themselves one after another fall into the abyss, the message of the novel and its summons against evil remain valuable for always.

The novel "Knives" will do much to stir the conscience, which shows its emancipating effect. A society with the courage to denounce evil and exorcise it, even when it involves painful matters, as in the story told in this novel, shows that it is a society moving determinedly toward progress, and that there is no force which can stop it.

'Propaganda' on Kosovo Economic Situation Assailed

AU0304150390 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Mar 90 p 4

[Mehmet Elezi article: "Kosovo Needs No Mercy!"]

[Text] The Serbian leaders' speeches and the Yugoslav press are mentioning with increasing frequency the unstinted "aid" allegedly being given to Kosovo for its development. Sometimes the figure of $1.5 million is

mentioned, sometimes the figure is somewhat lower or higher, and at other times it has approached the figure of $2 million . More recently, on 21 March to be precise, TANJUG published the spectacular figure of $5 billion!

This propaganda creates the impression than an endless river of money is flowing uninterruptedly from Belgrade to Pristina. To the extent, even, that the Belgrade journal NIN loses its patience when writing: "Neither the Yugoslav nor the Serb state will any longer underrate the fact" of this unprecedented expenditure!

If one is to believe all this, Kosovo can only be imagined as an island where all extravagant children have gathered, reckless spendthrifts, Albanians, naturally, who do nothing else but eat and drink and frolic, throwing other people's money to the winds. One is almost compelled to feel sorry for the Yugoslav state, not to mention the Serbian "one," which has to use all that wealth to no avail, suffering endless torture as in the Sisyphean myth. Kosovo is still poor and an ingrate!

This is the rosy background offered by the great Serb propaganda. In front of this background the black and white scheme: "The victims," Serbia and Yugoslavia, and the incorrigible culprit: Kosovo.

There is an element of truth in the assertion that Kosovo's endless wealth is being misused. But who are those who misuse it and who are the sufferers in all this, well, that is something else.

It is well known by everyone that the soil and underground wealth of this province are very rich. The lead, zinc, and silver of Trepca, and the rich lignite and chrome deposits, account for more than half of the country's production. Not to mention the agricultural production and the livestock products shipped in freight cars to other parts of Yugoslavia and Europe.

Another fact is also well known by everyone: Kosovo is the poorest province with regard to the per capita income of the population. If one person in three is employed in Montenegro, in Kosovo only one Albanian in 13 is employed! Not a few, but two- fifths of the able-bodied population is waiting for employment, and the majority are young people. And the majority are experiencing extreme poverty. As the newspaper RILINDJA wrote only recently: "The "Apotheosis" of a not inconsiderable proportion of consumers in our days is to secure a piece of bread and some other very essential commodities. And the fact that there are problems even here, the same newspaper goes on to say, is shown by the daily queues for bread and by the pleas of many of the consumers to be given bread "on credit," to be repaid "tomorrow or the day after tomorrow." This description and the words "bread on credit" remind one more of the beginning of the century, but certainly not a European country at the end of the 20th century.

What is the truth then: Does the republican or federal treasury drip in Kosovo's direction, or does it not?

One thing can be stated from the very beginning: Even the amount that is invested is no aid. Because these moneys are Kosovo's. In fact, they account for only a very small part of them. Belgrade's whining about its expenditure on Kosovo remind one of the ancient saying: "One is holding the other upright, and the latter says: Let me go, I am tired!"

Even what is being invested there in fact benefits someone else: It is Serbia and the Federation that benefit. The economic strategy pursued in Kosovo has never been and could never be separated from the general political strategy applied in the province. As a French journalist wrote in his own country, Kosovo's painful backwardness, compared to other parts of the Federation, "is a consequence of the neocolonialist policy pursued toward this province."

This policy, which can be defined by no other word, except the word neocolonialist, has several layers.

Let us look at the first one: the field of investments. As is being constantly reiterated in the Yugoslav press itself, which cannot conceal the fact, investments in the processing branches and in the intensive production sectors have never been given priority in Kosovo. These are the branches stimulating exports and accumulation, as well as massive employment for men and women. The investments have been directed to those sectors serving the interests of Serbia and Yugoslavia, primarily in the development of the energy and raw materials sectors, in those sectors with limited accumulation and reproductive capacities.

The lignite wealth of Kosovo alone represents 68.8 percent of all deposits in Yugoslavia. It is on this basis that large energy production capacities were built in the province, which greatly exceed its needs. In addition to nonferrous metallurgy, the energy sector has been transformed into a second "monster" of investments in Kosovo. As the newspaper RILINDJA says: "These investments swallow the major part of the investments effected in Kosovo's economy." According to the latest 1989 statistics, the energy sector accounts for 27 percent of the province's economy, while the average for Yugoslavia as a whole is 10.9 percent. In other words, a 1:3 relationship!

This disproportion, with its grave consequences for the province's economy, as well as its causes, have been pointed out even by the more realistic leaders in Yugoslavia. Stane Dolanc has said: "The investments in Kosovo, for decades on end, have been directed toward the construction of large-scale projects in the energy and raw materials sectors, whose contribution to increased income and employment is relatively modest. Why? "One must be objective and admit," he writes, "that this type of investment policy has also been representative of the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole.

And what is being planned with regard to investments beneficial for this province, which is continually supplying the rest of Yugoslavia with abundant energy and

nonferrous metals? An extremely narrow and limited economic activity which borders on denigration. As is defined in Yugoslav documents, Kosovo can develop "a bricks and tiles industry, a timber industry, bakeries, the production of carpets, and tin processing." The discrimination cannot be reflected more clearly: Gold for others, tin for itself!

After the matter of investments, this policy assumes new dimensions with regard to the pricing policy. It produces for others, but at what prices is Kosovo compelled to sell its energy and nonferrous metals?

According to TANJUG, on 19 December 1989, the Federation bought the lead and zinc extracted in Trepce at prices that were respectively 72 percent and 73 percent of the net price of these commodities on the markets. The economic managers of this enterprise stressed with grave concern that this policy will result in that this industrial complex will incur losses of around 160 million convertible dinars during the first half of 1990. The data released at the beginning of January was even more bitter. The state prices for lead and zinc were 60 percent below the market price!

This resulted, according to TANJUG, in that Trepca and all the other producers of nonferrous metals protested to the Federal Secretariat for Prices. It also induced them to state openly: "We want no privileges from the Federal Government, only real prices for our products!"

The picture is even gloomier when we look at the other side of the coin: The prices that Kosovo has to pay to the Federation. We are not talking here about other types of commodities, but only about those products produced in Kosovo itself, and which it needs for its own use. One of these is precisely electricity. According to Yugoslav publications, in 1985 Trepca and Ferronickel of Kosovo paid respectively 5.22 dinars and 5.33 dinars per kilowatt-hour of electricity. Whereas the Skopje metallurgical sector was paying considerably less: 4.96 dinars! In other words, Kosovo is not only paying through the nose for its own products, but is even discriminated against in that other republics are purchasing these products more cheaply!

The discrimination against the Albanians is also apparent in the matter of direct investments in Kosovo. Economic development is directed to those areas inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins. "The lion's share," in fact, is given to them. This policy is becoming increasingly more pronounced. As reported by BORBA, a meeting of the Executive Council of the Republic of Serbia held on 12 March 1990 decided, among other things: "July: The dateline to create all necessary conditions for economic enterprises in Serbia to begin the construction of productive projects in 30 areas of the province, inhabited mainly by Serbs and Montenegrins, or in areas to be settled by new colonists." The press publishes reports about factories and working centers for Serbs and Montenegrins alone, where no Albanians are allowed.

What about the cultural sector? Let facts speak for themselves: The 1989-1990 academic year: It has been planned to enroll 49 percent of Albanian graduates and 78 percent of Serb and Montenegrin graduates. About 11,000 Albanian pupils "were unable" to pursue their studies in Albanian during the same year. Meanwhile, the number of students at Pristina University has dropped by 60 percent since 1989.

It is not a question of funds. The funds are there, but not for Albanians. It is not by chance that during the past 20 years since the establishment of Pristina University only three out of every five graduates were Albanians. This is happening while everybody knows that the ethnic composition of the province is completely different: Nine out of every 10 inhabitants is Albanian. The well-known logic of all colonizers has been mentioned: The only good Indian is a dead Indian. In the same way, the only "good" Albanian would be an illiterate Albanian, one who would go round the streets shouting: "Who wants to have wood cut?"

Among Kosovo's supposed "obligations" to Yugoslavia, the Belgrade press includes also $150,000 daily for the Federal Police. This, too, is included in the list of "investments" in the province. What about the Army? Is the same amount spent on it, or more? And what about the prisons, the bombs, those killed, the graves, and what about the state terror raised to a system? (Funds are being found and increased for all this, only the expenditure for Albanian schools is being decreased). And what about the chemical substances used to turn classrooms into gas chambers, Albanian classrooms, segregated on the basis of nationality for this purpose, thus provoking the entire Albanian population and contemporary civilization in an unprecedented manner? The cynicism of the Great-Serbs knows no bounds, when one takes into account that Kosovo must also pay for all of this!

It is obvious who the real debtors are in Kosovo. This Albanian province, wealthy as it is, is at the same time as poor as it is. Had justice and equality been applied there, this province, with all its natural and human resources, could have ranked among the developed countries a long time ago. But it has been exploited in the past and continues to be exploited at present. That is why it has remained "Near the light and yet in darkness/Near the feast and yet hungry" [famous verse by Albanian poet Migjeni].

As Migjeni used to say: "Misery wants no mercy, only justice!" Kosovo, too, completely conscious and master of itself, wants justice, it has no need for mercy!

Editorial on Anniversary of Hoxha's Death

AU1104111090 Tirana ATA in English 0859 GMT 11 Apr 90

[" 'Enver Hoxha's Name and Deed Are Immortal'—Editorial of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, April 11 (ATA)—Today's newspapers devote their editorials and special pages to the great and unforgettable leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha on occasion of the 5th anniversary of his death. The editorial of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT entitled "Enver Hoxha's Name and Deed Are Immortal" stresses among others:

Today five years are completed since April 11 1985, when the heart of Enver Hoxha, the great unforgettable leader of the party and Albanian people, the great leader of the revolution and architect of new Albania, the ideologist and farsighted politician, the military commander and great diplomat, the most outstanding man of our national history, ceased to beat. Enver Hoxha was the founder and leader of our glorious party, which emerged from the fold of the people, became the major leading, inspiring and organising force of the war for freedom, the establishment of the people's power, revolution and socialist construction.

The veneration for Enver Hoxha and his deed is homage to an uninterrupted, all-round and fruitful activity to the benefit of the people and the homeland. It is also a significant assessment of the new epoch of the development of Albania, of the socialist road the war and people's revolution embarked it upon. This homage is the clearest expression of the continuation of the freedom-loving ideals of the Albanian nation, the political, and spiritual unity of all the strata of the Albanian society, of the trust of the people in the happy future of the homeland.

Enver Hoxha's life, ZERI I POPULLIT points out, is a brilliant example of devotion to the homeland. "Enver Hoxha," Comrade Ramiz Alia has written, "was an ardent patriot. He was imbued with outstanding patriotic traditions of our small and suffering country. He fought with unprecedented heroism, with arms and knowledge, with all his being, to defend our socialist homeland, its independence and sovereignty, its national rights, the dignity of the people and of our socialist state." Almost 50 years of militant activity are the most lively embodiment of that fiery sentiment and love that permeated Enver Hoxha's life like a red thread.

In the heroic years of the Antifascist National-Liberation War the people saw in Enver Hoxha the legendary commander, the brave and prudent, courageous and cold-blooded leader that emerged from the fold of the people and was nourished with their noble virtues. In the difficult and decisive moments of this glorious epoch, the mature and courageous stands of Enver Hoxha show of the magnificence of the patriotism that inspired him. This immense and sacred feeling for every Albanian is the powerful motif of that colossal activity conducted by Enver Hoxha after the liberation of the country till the last day of the life.

The magnificent dream of progress, this ardent desire to make Albania beautiful, strong and happy throbbed with a special force in the whole being of Enver Hoxha. It constituted the aim of his life, it gave him powerful impulses for untiring and selfless work, it was the content of his entire activity that extended in every field of social life. The love for the homeland, the desire that this noble people live that life they merited through their struggle and sacrifices, with the high moral virtues, gave Enver Hoxha and the party courage and farsightedness.

At certain moments of the history of the new Albania, Enver Hoxha's attention and engagement claimed distinction. Especially after the 60s up to the end of his life, he devoted a special attention to the aspects of the social life which had to do with the further revolutionisation and democratisation of the party and the people's power, with the increase of the leading role of the party in the socialist state.

The recent events in the Eastern countries proved completely the warning of Enver Hoxha on the logical end of the road their parties had taken. The Party of Labour of Albania and Enver Hoxha did not only envisage such an end, but they analysed the causes so that to draw lessons from a negative experience.

Enver Hoxha was the promoter and architect of Albania's incessant development. He put the physical and spiritual energies, the vast knowledge and culture in the service of this major cause. The love for the people and devotion to the homeland, that characterized his whole being, made Enver Hoxha a statesman, thinker, reformer of the social life and a perfect organiser. Enver Hoxha saw in the people and the labouring masses the decisive factor to ensure freedom and independence of the homeland, the lively force capable to realise the economic and social transformations dictated by the time.

In a series of writings and speeches, which reflect the vast vision of Enver Hoxha as revolutionary thinker and creative reformer of the social life the correct and fruitful road is shown for the realisation of the continuous goal: the elevation of the role of the masses, their ever broader participation in running, control and realisation the non-stop deepening of socialist democracy. "The strength of the power," Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, "stands in its democratic character". A special place in Enver Hoxha's deed is occupied by his known speech "Socialism Is Built by the Masses—The Party Makes Them Conscious," as well as by a number of his speeches on the workers' control, the strengthening of the elected power organs and those of the people's representatives in them etc. These teachings and this experience gained in course of the years are a very valuable contribution to this major and massive work the party and people are engaged in for the further revolutionisation and democratisation of our life, to which the decisions of the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee gave an impulse.

Comrade Enver Hoxha was against fetishes, he opposed forcefully the routine of thinking. For him, theory was not a dogma but a guide for action. He not only gave impulses, but was also initiator of the actions and

decisions demanded by the time and interest of the homeland, in all fields: in economy, culture, foreign policy. In conformity with this correct logic, the country's industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, the development of education and culture, all the economic and social transformations that marked Albania's history over 40 years were carried out, defence was strengthened, a wise and correct foreign policy was worked out, aiming the consolidation of the international position of the country, in ensuring the freedom and its independent development. Enver Hoxha, ZERI I POPULLIT emphasizes, was a popular leader linked with life and practice of social development. He pursued attentively every development and change, every new phenomenon and inclination. At the head of the party, he searched ways, forms and means so that our development forged ahead, so that the freedom of the homeland be further strengthened, so that the life of the people continuously improved. These aims were the most fundamental both in his theoretical and practical activity.

During these five years that Enver Hoxha is not any longer among us the people and party have worked and combated with that revolutionary and patriotic force that inspired our great leader and teacher. Enver Hoxha is present in all the new achievements for the consolidation of the freedom and independence of the homeland, in the struggle to overcome the difficult situations, in the efforts to make our beloved Albania progress . His noble heart beats, his rich thinking pulses, the ideals to which he devoted everything are with us, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion.

Government Views 1990 Economic Performance

AU1604182790 Sofia BTA in English
1804 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Government reviewed the results of the country's socioeconomic development during the first quarter of 1990. The situation is complicated, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov said, but a solution should be sought in the accelerated implementation of the crisis-management program. Production has slumped by nearly 9 per cent from the like period of last year and the worst affected branches should adapt to the new economic structure.

In this grim situation, the Government's main concern is to maintain a normal level of commodity supplies. Ms. Ekaterina Marinova, minister of trade and services, said home-made goods worth 4,112.7 million leva were made available which is some 209 million leva up on the same period of last year.

However, the production of the bulk of commodities during the first quarter of the year is far below last year's level. This market imbalance is due mainly to the deepening disparity between increased demand and the inadequate supply of goods and services.

The consumers' stocking up with a number of commodities and the buying of large quantities of goods by foreigners have made things even worse.

The Government ordered the competent bodies to strictly enforce the laws to deter the "despoliation of the anyway understocked Bulgarian market." The shortage of detergents and other commodities will be remedied by exports.

Discussing some practical steps of invigorate the economy, the cabinet members pointed out that the priority branches will be given a preferential treatment in currency and raw material supplies. It was also stressed that the tendency of shrinking imports and exports helps improve the balance of payments as compared to last year's first quarter and thus to reduce the country's foreign debt.

The Government took some specific steps to check the negative tendencies and stimulate economic life in the spirit of the requirements of the on-going economic reform. The information about the recovery in March is encouraging but, as the prime minister stressed, this is a trend with many unknowns which will not yield tangible results May or June.

Lukanov Meets Exporters, Explains Regulations

AU1604184790 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] On 16 April, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov chaired a working meeting of the government with the representatives of the major exporting companies and the country's trade banks. The participants discussed the measures and tasks springing from Decree 32 of the Council of Ministers, related to the principles of regulating the income and expenditures in convertible foreign currency during the current year. The decree creates a uniform foreign currency regime in purchasing and selling foreign currency to all Bulgarian companies, regardless of the form of their ownership.

The purchase and sale of foreign currency will be conducted on the basis of the market exchange rate, determined by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank. The domestic prices of the commodities, raw materials, and other materials that will be purchased with foreign currency will be formed so that they will reflect their real value.

Many measures have been envisioned that will sharply stimulate the export of commodities in exchange for convertible foreign currency. The goal is to establish a national foreign currency market based on the real exchange rate. The implementation of this goal will depend on the possibility of utilizing all reserves of our economy. It will be necessary that the companies overcome their isolation and explore all ways of acquiring foreign currency. It is only in this manner that the current payments balance can be improved and the confidence of the foreign creditors can be restored.

Andrey Lukanov pointed out the unsatisfactory results of the economic performance during the first quarter of the year, and stressed that about 30 percent of the economic capacities are not being utilized. He expressed confidence that a solution to the present situation could be found.

Former Prison Camp Guards Arrested

AU1604192590 Sofia BTA in English
1902 GMT 16 Apr 90

["Death Camp Torturers Arrested"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Acting on orders of Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the republic, this evening the authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs arrested Nikolay Gazdov and Tsvyatko Goranov in connection with their activities in the forced labor camps near Lovech and the village of Skravena.

Citizens Surrender Illegally Owned Weapons

AU1704101490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
14 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] Some 241 illegally owned firearms—handguns, rifles, and automatic rifles—and 9,139 rounds of ammunition had been surrendered to National Militia forces by 10 April. The citizens continue to surrender illegally owned weapons.

They must do this within one month after the National Assembly's appeal on voluntarily surrendering explosives, firearms, and ammunition, and based on the Law on Amnesty.

The return of weapons distributed to certain categories of officials continues. Data related to this will be published soon by an official representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Sofia Prison Inmates Announce Strike

AU1604183590 Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Inmates demanding an immediate release went on strike at Sofia Central Prison today, the Bulgarian Television reported in its main news program this evening. The strikers claim they have been sentenced unfairly, that they are held in bad conditions and that their human rights are violated. For its part, the prison administration complains that no one wants to take the thankless job of prison guard, psychologist and teacher. Some time ago a group of inmates staged a two-day strike on the rooftop of Sofia Central Prison.

UDF Leader 'Sure' BSP To Lose Elections

AU1604085890 Sofia BTA in English 0827 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—"It is out of the question that the SDS [UDF—United Democratic Forces] might lose the elections. It is sure that the Communist Party will lose them," said in an interview for POGLED Petko Simeonov, member of the SDS coordinating committee. According to him the reason for that is that the moral responsibility of the Communist Party about its past is to increase every day. The notion "Communism" will soon fill in with the same negative content as the notion "Fascism". That is why the Communist Party wanted to change its name.

Petko Simeonov thinks that even after a full victory of the SDS the future government will not be without Communists. The interior minister should be a Communist, as most of the employees in this ministry are members of this party. The same thing refers to the minister of defence. The SDS is explicit on this issue: The experts from the Interior Ministry and the Ministry of National Defence, diplomats and from all other spheres, provided they had not been corrupted and have the confidence of their colleagues, should not be afraid from their party belonging.

Concerning certain structural changes in the Interior Ministry, the SDS leader says that he believes minister Semerdjiev, but has some doubts that his people sometimes deceive him.

Petko Simeonov condemns Dobri Djourov's, minister of defence, appearance at the party meeting held at the Vassil Levski Stadium, as the armed forces should be truly depolitized. There should be a law, which forbids all employees of the Interior Ministry and all military to be members of political organizations.

I have no intentions to put my nomination for the elections at any level, nor take any kind of high post. Petko Simeonov says.

Social Democratic Party Leader Explains Stances

AU1604182890 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Dr Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP), today said that Bulgarian social democrats will do what their counterparts did in Europe.

At a two-hour-long news conference he summed up the fundamental principles written in the BSDP program. "In a country whose economy rests on state capitalism, we social democrats are the exponents of the ideas of free labor, of economic forms which will give individuals freedom to realize their creative capabilities," said Dr Dertliev. "They will allow the economy to be as dynamic and, at the same time, as socially oriented as it is throughout the social democratic-ruled countries in Europe and worldwide."

The BSDP chairman said social democrats want all forms of ownership to compete on equal terms. They believe that the most important investment which the country can made is in education as this is the field with the highest rate of return. Contrary to the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] allegations, the BSDP does not support the idea of a shock therapy as a way out of the crisis. On the contrary, if the social democrats come to power they will not administer a shock therapy because the patient (i.e. the economy) might not survive it, Dr Dertliev quipped.

He said that the BSDP now has over 50,000 members and probably a lot more supporters. The party is steadily expanding its power base among different strata of the population. Asked why the BSDP does not run on a separate ticket outside the Union of Democratic Forces, Dr Petur Dertliev said that no party can now fight an election battle on its own with the Bulgarian Socialist Party which has an enormous apparat and huge financial capabilities. For the sake of the great change, for the sake of the common interests and for the sake of Bulgaria the BSDP is affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces. It does not believe that its party interests are more important than the national interests. "We will go along with the Union of Democratic Forces to defeat our common opponent. Party reckonings are irrelevant," the social democratic leader emphasized.

Zhelev Speaks at Troyan UDF Election Rally

AU1204200690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] On 12 April, an election rally organized by the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] took place at Troyan's central square. The rally, which marked the

beginning of the election campaign in the city and the region, was opened and chaired by Sari Belev, UDF spokesman in Troyan.

The speakers, representatives of all parties and movements that participate in the bloc of the united opposition, expressed their categorical disagreement with the ideological experiments, dictatorship, and oppression practiced by the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria during almost 50 years.

It was stated that only the UDF can lead the country out of the economic and intellectual crisis, in the name of democracy and justice. The announcement that the construction of Cherni Osum Dam has been stopped as a result of the UDF's unity, was greeted with exclamations of approval.

UDF Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev arrived at the rally and was enthusiastically greeted by the participants with exclamations "UDF!" and "Justice!" Zhelyu Zhelev spoke at the rally.

He refuted the claim that the Bulgarian Communist Party, now renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party, is a party of high professionalism, competence, and security. The 45-year period was more than enough to make it obvious that the party is not any longer fit to rule.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev appealed to the members and supporters of the UDF, and all Troyan citizens, to vote at the forthcoming elections with the blue ballots.

Conciliation Committee Expresses 'Dissatisfaction'

AU1204190390 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 12 Apr 90

["Dissatisfaction With Government Decree"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 12 (BTA)—In connection with the decree adopted by the Council of Ministers on April 5, 1990 concerning the settlement of the serious social problems ensuing from the mass migration campaign last year, the National Conciliation Committee expresses its dissatisfaction with this much- delayed act, it is said in an announcement made by the committee.

It is underlined that the decree abounds in good wishes addressed to the local authorities which could hardly help to provide this part of the population with houses and jobs. Housing construction is mentioned, but it is not clear how the building materials and labor force will be ensured and when the dwellings will be built. The recommendation made to the people's councils to take measures for the settlement of the housing problems of the citizens who have come back from Turkey to find their homes lived in by new lodgers, which is a breach of the law, are considered to be unbinding.

It is pointed out that the National Conciliation Committee has repeatedly made constructive proposals for finding a way out of the situation, including its proposals to the roundtable talks, but they received no support. "Thus we are left with the impression that there are no real political forces in the country which would be interested in the efficient and quick settlement of the complex of social problems it is said in the announcement.

Expressing its great concern, in conclusion the National Conciliation Committee calls upon the Council of Ministers to take energetic measures for the creation of normal conditions of life and work for the Bulgarian citizens who became the victims of irresponsible manipulation.

New BULGARIA Weekly Published

AU1704114290 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Apr 90 p 1

[Text] The first issue of BULGARIA—a weekly publication for politics and culture, published by the All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the "Bulgaria" Association—has appeared.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the newspaper much journalistic success, readers' confidence, and interesting articles, in its patriotic activity in our country, which is at a crossroads—"the motherland of the living, the dead, and those yet to be born." We wish success to the Editorial Board (director Ivan Undzhiev and chief editor Khristo Georgiev) in its patriotic activity so that "in this and no other sense will Bulgaria be above anything else."

BULGARIA and NARODNA ARMIYA will march shoulder to shoulder in this common enterprise.

IMF East European Division Chief Visits

AU1604192690 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—Mrs Duncan Ripley, head of the East Europe Division of the International Monetary Fund, arrived on a visit to this country today at the head of an IMF delegation.

Before they leave on May 4, the experts will get familiar with the economic reform in this country and will meet officials at ministries and departments competent on Bulgaria's application to join the International Monetary Fund.

Army Leader Interviewed on Soviet Withdrawal

LD1704085690 Prague CTK in English 0820 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—The view that the Soviet Union is interested in a quick departure of its troops from Czechoslovakia was voiced by Major General Svatozar Nadovic, chief of the Czechoslovak National Defense Ministry administration for Soviet troops' withdrawal from Czechoslovakia, in an interview for the latest issue of the army weekly "OBRANA LIDU".

(The troops have been stationed in Czechoslovakia since the invasion of the country by five Warsaw Treaty countries' troops in August 1968 which crushed a revival process in Czechoslovakia.)

Svatozar Nadovic said that he drew the impression from his talks with Soviet representatives that they are also interested in the Soviet troops' departure to be realized with honor so that relations between the two countries can start in certain spheres "from zero".

If problems arise in the withdrawal, they are due to bad organization of work, especially in loading other than military equipment, e.g. personal belongings of soldiers and their families.

Asked whether Soviet soldiers sell weapons to Czechoslovak citizens, the major general said that the Czechoslovak side had investigated these rumours right on the spot, but had never found witnesses to such deals.

In connection with the Czechoslovak demand that the Soviet side pay the ecological damage caused by its troops in Czechoslovakia, Svatozar Nadovic said that had such great emphasis been placed on environmental protection also in the Czechoslovak army, many an unnecessary harm would have been avoided.

Major General Nadovic appreciated the correct attitude of the Soviets to compensation for the damage, but added that various demands for compensation will be appearing for another 20 years.

In another part of the interview, he denied the Soviet claim that it had defrayed all costs connected with its troops' stay in Czechoslovakia. He estimated that Czechoslovakia had paid many thousands of millions of crowns for the stay of Soviets in its territory. The ultimate figure should be made public at the beginning of 1991.

General Nadovic quoted an unspecified Soviet source according to which the Soviet troops will leave Czechoslovakia before the deadline agreed upon—June 30, 1991.

U.S. Congressmen Meet Defense Minister

LD1304190590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] For the first time in 42 years, a Czechoslovak minster of national defense officially met U.S. Congressmen today, when Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek received 10 members of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress.

Asked by Anthony Beilenson what role the Warsaw Pact would play in the future, Miroslav Vacek replied that in his view it was better for disarmament to be discussed by two partners—that is to say by the Warsaw Pact and NATO—than by 23 countries.

The U.S. guests told the Czechoslovak minister that they were disappointed to learn that after the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty had been signed, SS-23 missiles were deployed in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the GDR. Col.-Gen. Vacek pointed out that missiles in the arsenals of armies other than the Soviet one were not subject to the treaty. I also believe that your intelligence service knew about these missiles earlier; we have a higher opinion of it than to suppose not, he said.

The talks took place in a very correct and constructive atmosphere, and, among other things, the U.S. Congressmen referred to a plan under which a Czechoslovak astronaut should fly into space on a U.S. space shuttle.

Trade Minister Summarizes U.S. Visit

LD1304225890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak today ended his visit to the United States, where he signed a trade agreement. Our minister was asked by correspondent Jozef Knizat to assess its importance for the further development of trade relations. Because of the poor telephone connection to Washington, we will read you his reply in the studio:

Following the signing of this agreement, all the prerequisites are basically fulfilled for the U.S. Administration to submit most- favored-nation status to Congress for approval. I think that the biggest problem will come now, Minister Barcak said. The signing of the agreement is basically a legal act designed to open the doors for us and to help give a boost to trade and economic cooperation on both sides. The largest amount of work, however, will have to be done by our suppliers if they want to get into the U.S. market, and by the U.S. suppliers who want to get into our market. The United States is said to be the land of opportunity—this is true, and you can export almost anything there, but it has to be at the right price and under the right conditions. There are some commodities, Minister Barcak said, which already have a good place on the U.S. market, and some of our manufacturers are truly exporting to the United States in a very responsible way. [passage omitted]

Furthermore I must point out that very special attention must be paid to quality. The U.S. market is tough, not only because it makes high demands, but also because if the customer is put at a financial loss for any reason, he is liable to sue everyone who might be implicated, Minister Barcak said. It is for this reason that responsibility for the quality of goods is such an important thing, which every would-be exporter to the United States must take on board before he starts exporting.

'Lack of Careful Preparation' at Bratislava Summit

AU1204193590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Jaroslav Jiru commentary: "Ideas and Protocol"]

[Text] Journalists and observers interested in Central European development will probably be in agreement about one thing after the Bratislava meeting: If in January and at the beginning of February they were asking questions about the new Czechoslovak Government's foreign policy, then—after the recent visits made to West Europe by President Vaclav Havel and Jiri Dienstbier, our foreign minister, and, in particular, after the Bratislava meeting—the answers should be clear to them now.

During these opportunities, the Czechoslovak Government put forward a plan which does not lack in intrinsic logic, intelligibility, or noble aims. In the spirit of the very best traditions of Czechoslovak diplomacy, it attempts to establish a European security system which would not exclude anyone and which would guarantee everyone the same feeling of security and the same possibilities for free and independent development. President Vaclav Havel submitted 10 fundamental questions to the conference participants while emphasizing that it is quite impossible to answer all of them immediately. He submitted them as suggestions for future talks and meetings, which should culminate in Helsinki-II next year. This is a new document in content and in form. All Czechs and Slovaks should read it carefully and should compare it to the half-baked fare which the former leadership was offering us just a few months ago; they should also once more realize the integrity of our revolution, whose profundity we sometimes overlook on account of our everyday concerns.

Representatives of our republic, Poland, and Hungary, along with observers from Austria, Italy, and Yugoslavia, held talks in Bratislava mainly on how to facilitate the entry of the new Central European democracies into Europe. The participation of Austria and, first and foremost, of Italy was significant in this regard. The country on the Apennine peninsula has become an important participant in the European integration process, and we note with pleasure the outstanding initiatives it comes up with. Important issues associated with European security were also discussed in Bratislava. The Czechoslovak and Polish sides tried to seek rapprochement between the plans of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Jiri Dienstbier. It is also important that the Hungarian and Czechoslovak representatives agreed on further cooperation in resolving serious nationality issues. We have plenty of reasons, then, for considering the Bratislava meeting to have been a success.

However, a journalist who wants to fulfill his task honorably must not, at any price, rid himself of the right to adopt a critical stance. If I had to express my feelings in one sentence, I would say that in current Czechoslovak foreign policy I see a certain imbalance between the undoubtedly courageous and fruitful ideas on the one hand and a lack of careful preparation on the other. I believe that the results of the Bratislava conference—no matter how remarkable—would have been even more considerable if they had been preceded by less ostentatious and more thorough preparations through the normal diplomatic channels. I also cannot rid myself of the feeling that the Polish and Hungarian representatives were rather taken aback by the range and scope of President Havel's questions and that their replies were appropriately tentative.

This also compels us to ask whether the timing of the conference was favorable. The government in Hungary is changing, and the victorious Democratic Forum wants to enter Europe more quickly and differently. Will the conclusions of the Bratislava meeting really be regarded as binding? Does the Polish side comprehend the fact that in President Havel's proposals nothing is said about guarantees for its German neighbor's borders? The very best diplomacy of all is that in which ideas and protocol are in perfect harmony.

Diplomat Reportedly Framed as Spy for Iraq

LD1304140190 Prague CTK in English 1207 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 13 (CTK)—The secret trial of a Czechoslovak national who allegedly spied in favour of Iraq was disclosed by the person concerned in today's Czech paper SVOBODNE SLOVO.

Ondrej Hoch, a former employee of the Czechoslovak foreign Ministry, was condemned to a prison term of 13 years in 1984. "Originally I was to have been a Libyan spy but this seemed absurd even to the State Security investigators and therefore Iraq appeared in the verdict." Hoch was released from prison within the framework of this year's amnesty declared by President Havel after his election. Hoch claims that former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek "personally took part in 'silencing' me and supplied the military court with instructions."

Hoch gave as the ground for his sentence the fact that he penetrated the "taboos" of Czechoslovak-Iraqi relations. "It is no secret today that Czechoslovakia supplied weapons to both parties to the Iraq-Iran conflict...Czechoslovakia, however, had signed with Iraq and Libya treaties of friendship which, inter alia, prohibited the use of special services against one another. Practice was

different, however, and whoever penetrated this 'taboo' became dangerous. My case was kept secret and my family was only told that I was given a 13-year prison sentence for anti-state activities," Ondrej Hoch said.

Hungarian Minority Leader on Nationalism Charges

AU1304132890 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 6 Apr 90 p 3

[Letter issued by Karol Toth, chairman of the Hungarian Independent Initiative; date not given: "Accuracy and Objectivity"]

[Excerpt] The coexistence of the Slovak and Hungarian nationalities in Slovakia is increasingly becoming a serious problem. Society as a whole feels this, a fact which is also reflected on the pages of the press—most recently on the pages of VEREJNOST in the articles entitled "A Strong Feeling of Ethnicity" and "Voices of Slovaks from the South." As chairman of the Hungarian Independent Initiative, I feel obliged to take a stand on some aspects of these articles.

The surface appearance of relations used to appear calm, and could have stayed that way if the tolerance proclaimed in the first weeks of the gentle revolution prevailed, if one lent an ear to both sides when discussing these delicate problems in the press, and, in general, if the press in Slovakia tried harder to be objective and to verify the information it published. This also applies to the interview with Viliam Gruska, honorary chairman of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation. I do not know from which source Mr. Gruska obtained his information about the fascist stand of some officials [of the Hungarian Independent Initiative]. Since he does not give any names and does not specify the venue of these "Hungarian meetings," it is impossible to either confirm or deny such assertions. If his claims are true, they should have become the subject of investigations by the prosecuting bodies long ago. However, the interview also contained one specific piece of information, the incorrectness of which would have been very easy to verify (either by Viliam Gruska directly or by the authors of the interview, Sandra Svardova and Dano Borsky). Since they failed to verify this information, although it should have been their duty to do so, we must demand that it be corrected: Mr. Miklos Duray never was a member of the Hungarian Independent Initiative, nor is he a member at present. It is true that Mr. Duray was co-opted to the Federal Assembly at the recommendation of the Hungarian Independent Initiative as an independent candidate, in view of his courageous civic attitude in the past as one of the few people in Slovakia who signed Charter 77. In February this year he initiated the founding of a new political movement, Coexistence [Spoluzitie], the constituent congress of which was held in Bratislava on 31 March 1990. According to the principles of journalistic ethics, he himself should make a statement on the goals of this movement and on his own writings.

Oskar Vilagi, referred to in the article "Voices of Slovaks from the South," on the other hand, really is a deputy for the Hungarian Independent Initiative. We assume full responsibility for his stands and public pronouncements and resolutely reject the accusations leveled against him in the article. [passage omitted]

'Anarchists' Warn of Bombing Polluting Industries

AU1204125890

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 April on page 3 carries a 350- word "kr"-signed report entitled "Threat or Provocation?" The report deals with a letter received by the chairman of the national committee in Hrensko, Decin district, in late March. The letter, signed by a group calling itself "Radical Organization of Christian Anarchists," threatens to blow up Decin's "industrial enterprises that pollute the air" unless an "acceptable solution is found to save the rock formations" in an area near Hrensko called "Czech Switzerland." The letter announces 5 June as the planned date of the explosions. As the report states, the rock formations in question are "disintegrated sandstone rocks," which must be "liquidated" because they are "unstable" and in danger of sliding down. According to experts, it is "technically impossible" to save these rock formations.

In conclusion, the RUDE PRAVO report states that unspecified "measures" are being taken in all enterprises potentially affected by this threat and that the search for the authors of the letter continues.

Marxist-Leninists Accuse CP Leaders of Betrayal

AU1304182690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Jozef Krsko commentary: "...Establish Your Own Party"]

[Excerpts] A letter circulates in Slovakia. Someone has composed it from the infamous cliches of past years. The letter is labeled as letter No. 3 and is signed by the "preparatory committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia on the Marxist-Leninist platform." It says, among other things: "A counterrevolutionary coup d'etat has taken place in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Students, as well as artists and journalists, have been deceived.... The party and state leadership knew in advance what had been prepared in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and in other socialist countries by the reactionists aided by world Jewry....Today's party leadership continues the decaying process; they embarked on the road of betrayal; behind the scenes they collude with Civic Forum, the Public Against Violence, Christian Democracy, democratic socialism....Let Mr. Mohorita and Mr. Weiss establish 'modern left-wing parties.' We are appealing to the young working class, farmers, intelligentsia—the fate of socialism is in your hands, socialism is yours!"

Well, I am appealing to you, authors of this letter. [passage omitted] Do not further escalate social tension, which is high enough already.

You say that the leadership is preparing a party breakup. If you mean by that the differentiation between exponents of yesterday's deformations and those who want to raise the standard of the society and who want to establish a modern left-wing party, then such a breakup is what we badly need. I personally welcome, as you write, that "representatives of all districts and larger enterprises from all over Slovakia met in Bratislava to discuss a further course of action. We consider all the party members who have been expelled lately from the party as communists." I welcome this initiative. Yes, unite and found your own party. This would be an optimal solution for all of us.

Presidential Press Spokesman on CPCZ Finances

AU1404171190 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 11 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Shroud of Mystery Slightly Uncovered; From the Briefing of the Presidential Press Spokesman"]

[Excerpt] At his briefing in Prague yesterday [10 April], President Vaclav Havel's press spokesman Michael Zantovsky said that the presidency avails itself of relatively detailed data showing that annual expenditures of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] on salaries, the operation of facilities for its leading bodies, schools and educational establishments, institutions and museums, services, hotels, recreational facilities, hospitals, spa facilities, pensioners, party shops, the People's Militia, and so forth amounted to a total of 2,748,000,000 korunas [Kcs]. He was reacting to a specific question, but also to Monday's [9 April] televised debate on CPCZ property.

"The reimbursement of salaries for time spent at meetings and the operating costs of meetings," he continued, "cost Kcs1,525,000,000, and the reimbursement of salaries or scholarships for students attending party colleges cost Kcs1.034,000,000. Together this amounts to Kcs5.297 billion of noninvestment expenditures per year.

"Investment expenditures on buildings of party secretariats, schools and training centers, press enterprises, People's Militia warehouses and equipment, the car pool, hotels and recreational facilities, hospitals, and other medical facilities amounted to Kcs13.629 billion since 1972, which means approximately Kcs757 million per year," he said further. "These expenditures do not include financial assistance to the communist parties of Western and developing countries, the combat units of revolutionary movements in developing countries, the operating cost of [Czechoslovak-based] international organizations such as the International Organization of Journalists or the World Federation of Trade Unions, the cost of friendly and working CPCZ visits to the fraternal countries, and of the fraternal countries' friendly and working visits to Czechoslovakia, the cost of CPCZ delegations' stay at the congresses of fraternal parties, the cost of studies at the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, the cost of other working visits, of reserved rooms in recreational facilities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and in hotels, the investment cost of nuclear shelters, escape routes, and similar facilities, as well as the cost of other special activities. This is the expenditure side.

"As for revenues, membership dues totaled Kcs1.2 billion a year and the party's economic activity was yielding about Kcs300 million a year, which adds up to Kcs1.5 billion. In other words, the difference between annual revenues and expenditures represented approximately Kcs4.5 billion. This sum was probably taken from various items of the state budget," Michael Zantovsky added. "The CPCZ received from the state budget about Kcs1.2 billion annually. The remaining funds were probably drawn from allocations to the National Front, social organizations, national committees, the Ministries of Education, National Defense, Interior, Culture, Health, Labor and Social Affairs, as well as from the budgets of individual enterprises." [passage omitted]

Slovak National Council Approves State Name

LD1204204290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] After today's meetings of the individual committees of the Slovak National Council, the deputies convened for an extraordinary meeting of the Slovak National Council. They discussed the results of the deliberations in the committees and the standpoint of the Council's Presidium on the constitutional bill sponsored by a group of Federal Assembly deputies on changing the name of our republic. They also gave their view on the constitutional bill sponsored by the president of the republic on the state emblems.

From today's deliberations of the Slovak National Council's committees, it emerged that the deputies support both bills. On the basis of the results of the deliberations of its committees, the Slovak National Council approves the constitutional bill sponsored by a group of Federal Assembly deputies on changing the name of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic [Slovak: Ceska a Slovenska Federativna Republika], and it recommends that this name be adopted.

The Slovak National Council also approved the constitutional bill sponsored by the president of the republic on the state insignia, according to which the state emblem will consist of a quartered escutcheon, and it recommended that the Federal Assembly approve the bill as presented by the president of the republic.

1st Day of Resumed Slovak TU Congress Reported

AU1404152890 Prague PRACE in Czech 10 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

["kjk, rh"-signed report: "The Confederation Is Striking Roots; Slovak Trade Unionists Are Holding Their Congress in Bratislava"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—While the leaders of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic, Hungary, and Poland were holding talks at Bratislava Castle, representatives of individual trade unions from Slovakia opened their two-day session in the House of Trade Unions yesterday [9 April]. Many of them knew each other from "before"—from 1 March 1990, when the First Slovak All-Trade Union Congress was held in the Park of Culture and Repose. As is generally known, the deliberations of that congress were interrupted. The congress was to meet again by 31 March at the latest to approve the basic documents.

This second part, or continuation, of the First Slovak All-Trade Union Congress began yesterday shortly after 1300, i.e., with a delay of nine days. Of the 976 delegates who had been invited, 808 delegates with a full vote met in the main auditorium [of the House of Trade Unions]. Unfortunately, the representatives of miners and chemistry workers did not come. Their trade unions explained their absence with the intention to deal with their problems at the federal level. Some other, smaller, trade unions sent only observers to the congress. [passage omitted]

Missing behind the table of the congress presidium was Jozef Prokes, whom the first part of the congress elected as chairman of the Assembly of Independent Slovak Trade Unions [NSO]. It was only in the lobbies that we learned about his resignation from this post last week. Roman Kovac has been charged with executing the function of chairman of the NSO Assembly. [passage omitted]

In his speech Roman Kovac stressed that, in ensuring the rights and interests of all its members, the NSO's primary task will be to see to it that trade unions associated in the NSO coordinate their activity in a democratic way and, most important of all, on a voluntary basis. He also explained the creation of the newly proposed document (the Charter), which the NSO Assembly submitted to the congress. [passage omitted]

During the discussion of the Charter, one of the central points was the delegates' attempt to resolve the problem of the so-called asymmetrical model of the current trade union structure. For this reason the delegates focused on solving the problem of the name of the new Slovak trade union central body. Already the first round of voting made it clear which of the six proposals (three main and three supplementary ones) that had been submitted would prevail; 405 delegates expressed themselves in favor of the name Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic [Konfederace odborovych svazu Slovenske Republiky].

Among those who took the floor during the debate was Igor Pleskot, president of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade [CSKOS] Unions. He spoke mainly about the relationship of the CSKOS with the trade union umbrella organizations in the Czech areas and in Slovakia. He elucidated the crucial principles of the CSKOS' activity, which definitely does not want to order its partners around. Even though his speech introduced much clarity into the relationships within the "CSKOS—Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions—Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic" triangle, the delegates discussed these issues long after today's issue of PRACE went to press.

The First Slovak All-Trade Union Congress continues today.

Decisions of Slovak TU Congress Reported

AU1404153490 Prague PRACE in Czech 11 Apr 90 pp 1,2

["kjk, rh,"-signed report: "Thorny Road Toward Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— All is well that ends well. This proverb could well be applied to the course and results of the two- day continuation of the First Slovak All-Trade Union Congress in the Slovak capital. After hours of passionate discussions and controversies—which were diluting the substance of the problems because of which the 800 delegates, representing 40 trade unions, met in the House of Trade Unions—yesterday, before noon, the delegates finally agreed on the wording of two key documents—the Charter and the General Program [Ramcovy program] of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOS] of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The cornerstone of yesterday's discussions was defining the status of the KOS of the Slovak Republic and its relationship with the Czechoslovak KOS. In the end, a compromise was adopted—the KOS of the Slovak Republic is the representative of the Slovak Republic in the supreme federal trade union body. For now, this supreme body is represented by the Czechoslovak KOS.

Furthermore, the delegates approved that the KOS of the Slovak Republic is a free, independent, voluntary, open, and democratic organization that is above party politics. It brings together independent, equal, and autonomous trade unions and associations operating in Slovakia. The supreme organ of the KOS of the Slovak Republic is its congress. Its executive organ is the Assembly, whose head office is in Bratislava. [passage omitted]

At a closed session, the Presidium of the KOS of the Slovak Republic elected Roman Kovac as the confederation's new chairman. The congress of the KOS of the

Slovak Republic ended in the afternoon with the adoption of a resolution. [passage omitted]

Slovak Initiatives Group Meets in Surany

LD1404043190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Representatives of the Asociation of Slovak Initiatives [Asociacia Slovenskych Iniciativ] from seven districts of southern Slovakia met in Surany this evening. Our editor Peter Rohac reports on the agenda of the meeting:

[Begin Rohac recording] The Association of Slovak Initiatives, which was founded one month ago, is a free association of organizations, political parties, and civic movements, which have a so-called national program. It is concerned above all with the coexistence of the nations and national minorities—in tolerance and mutual agreement—in our entire federation.

Representatives of the Matica Slovenska, Independent Party of Slovaks [Nezavisla Strana Slovakov], and the Stur Society are meeting here today. Their common effort is aimed at securing the sovereignty of the Slovak nation and its renewal—not at provoking chauvinism.

The coordination of the election battle was also discussed here: Individual elements of the Association should support joint candidates. Today's deliberations resulted in convening a meeting between the association and other political parties and national movements, which will take place in Bratislava on 18 April. There they hope to agree on a course to take for the elections. [end recording]

Slovak Interior Minister on Security Force, Crime

AU1304125090

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 6 April on page 4 carries a 2,600-word interview with Vladimir Meciar, minister of interior and the environment of the Slovak Republic, by Vlado Turkovic entitled "Whatever Happens, I Will Stick It Out." The date and place of the interview, in which Meciar replies to questions concerning various aspects of his ministry's work, are not given. In his opening statements, Meciar discusses what the ministry is doing to restore the public's trust in the security forces. In this context he refers to a set of legislative changes under preparation, the disbandment of the state security service, personnel changes and changes in the system of management, as well as plans for new uniforms as an outward sign of these changes. Asked what former members of the state security are doing at present, Meciar says that they have been ordered to stay at home during their legal working hours, for which they receive "a certain percentage of their salaries." Moreover, they are subject to "extensive screenings" of their previous activity. Meciar says that although "possibilities are being sought of making use of these people in some different departments within the ministry, most of them will have to look for jobs elsewhere." Meciar dismisses rumors about the "activation" of former state security members, pointing out that "nothing can be accomplished without broad support from the people." He also observes that because they were in contact with the opposition, state security members were among the first to "realize the hopeless situation of the totalitarian system."

Next, Meciar discusses the reasons for the sharp increase in the crime rate, especially in January and February. He attributes it to the decline in "civic and labor discipline," to the release of formerly suppressed "aggression," as well as to "certain resistance on the part of some members of the Public Security Force." As Meciar explains, many policemen fear that they will be deprived of various benefits or that they will be dismissed because of their membership in the Communist Party (according to the minister, "up to 86 percent of members of the security forces were communists"). This "loss of personal job security has been reflected in the execution of their duties."

In the other parts of the interview, Meciar discusses the ministry's new duties in connection with the legalization of private enterprise; the ongoing reconstruction of national committees (saying that, following extensive personnel changes, most of them are "capable of functioning" again); and plans to surrender some of the ministry's responsibilities for the environment to a new government commission, which is to be established in May.

Czech National Council Groups Discuss State Name

LD1304022790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] A proposal to change the name of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic was discussed today by the Czech National Council's committees, with the exception of the Planning and Budget Committee, which will hold a session tomorrow. The committees recommended to the Federal Assembly approval of the proposal.

Czech, Moravian, Silesian Consultations Held

LD1404041890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] The first consultative meeting between Jaroslav Safarik, chairman of the Czech National Council, and Peter Pithart, Czech prime minister, on the one hand, and representatives of the South Moravian and North Moravian regions and of Moravian and Silesian initiatives on the other, took place in Prague today [13 April]. At the meeting, a broad spectrum of views on the future arrangement of the Czech, Moravian, and Silesian regions was aired. All the participants in the meeting agreed that modern self-administraiton, which respects

historical traditions and is acceptable to the inhabitants of all territorial units, must form the basis of the administrative setup.

Peter Pithart, too, has formulated his personal viewpoint. It proceeds from the notion of the existence of three land setups in the Czech Republic. The Moravian and Silesian regions should have representatives in the government. After the meeting ended, Vaclav Klement asked Peter Pithart and Jaroslav Safarik for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Klement] Could it be said, Mr. Chairman, speaking perhaps figuratively, that Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia have understood each other at today's consultative meeting?

[Pithart] Certainly, and this is the more crucial because it appeared at times as if they would not come to an understanding. I have found it useful of late to open up problems irrespective of the risks involved, even to start with a quarrel, because this clears the air, and this also happened today, and we have certainly understood each other.

[Klement] Has today's meeting contributed, perhaps by a small step, toward the recognition or notion of the position Moravia and Silesia should have in the Czech Republic?

[Safarik] Yes. The meeting was in fact convened for this purpose, to exchange views, to get to know each other, to listen to each other. Deputies elected in Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia sit next to each other in the Czech National Council, and of course we have to tackle the matter jointly. There is no other way than through discussions.

[Pithart] I see Moravia as an integrating factor in Czecho- Slovak relations. I also see Moravia as a certain challenge to the Czechs to seek and if possible to find their own identity, so we need Moravia; we, in any case, support Moravia.

[Klement] This has been the first such discussion at a high level about these matters, but it certainly will not be the last one. What kind of idea would you, Mr. Prime Minister, pass on to the future discussions?

[Pithart] I would pass on what I said right at the end. We all have assured each other at the start that we are discussing problems of concern to the Czech Republic, but when the debate was ending we realized that these were problems that were important for the whole federation, for its cohesion and for its solidity. So we felt a certain responsibility for the state as a whole. The state will be such as its components will be, and among these component parts there must prevail a basic consensus on basic issues, and it would appear that as far as the component parts of the Czech Republic are concerned, we succeeded in this task today. [end recording]

Investigation Into Nov Events Continues

AU1304204190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Apr 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Turning Point in the Investigation"]

[Text] Prague—Jozef Stank, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic Federal Assembly joint commission established to supervise the investigation into the events of 17 November, informed journalists after Monday's [9 April] session in Prague that another turning point had been revealed in the step-by-step investigation into the background of these events. "Five former State Security members have been taken into custody during the past two weeks," said chairman Stank, who added that the commission's assumption that the Secret Police had its share in the preparation and course of the brutal intervention against the students is being confirmed more and more.

On the subject of arresting General Lorenz, former federal deputy interior minister, the commission chairman said that he is under investigation regarding destroyed State Security documents, which would have cast more light on State Security operations. "Nothing more can be said; more details could influence the investigation," he said.

From the information provided by the Czech Republic Prosecutor General, it ensues that the investigation into Miroslav Stepan should be completed by Wednesday [11 April] at the latest. Tomorrow the long-awaited confrontation with General Carda, the former chief of Prague and Central Bohemia's National Security Corps, should take place. "As opposed to many other witnesses, General Carda has not lost his memory," one of the investigators said to journalists. It is expected that starting Wednesday, Miroslav Stepan will be informed about the case against him, which, for the time being, is only in connection with the intervention against the demonstrations on 28 October 1988 and January 1989.

Party for Defense of Culture Registered

AU1304172490 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 11 Apr 90 p 4

["jv"-signed report: "For the Protection of Culture"]

[Text] On 6 April, Prague's graphic artists appealed to the cultured public and all practicing artists with a call to establish the Party for the Defense of Culture [Strana obrany kultury]. On 9 April, this party was properly registered on the basis of almost 12,000 supporting signatures. According to the Party for the Defense of Culture, the representatives of the Civic Forum's Coordinating Center were also present at the preparatory committee session in Prague's Manes exhibition hall yesterday, 10 April. Brother J. Cerny, general secretary of the Czechoslovak People's Party, expressed his support for those involved in cultural activities by paying an informal visit.

Parties, Radio Agree on Election Broadcasts

LD1304123290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Representatives of political parties, public movements, coalitions, and groups, which are running in the June elections, agreed in Prague today with the Czechoslovak radio management on the manner of waging the election campaign through radio broadcasts.

According to the law, a total of four hours of broadcasting time has been reserved for each contestant in our broadcasts. The sequence of including individual contributions has been decided by ballot. The election campaign will be carried mostly by the federal broadcasting circuit Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak radio gave a guarantee to grant equal conditions to each movement, coalition, or group to wage the election campaign outside the times agreed upon.

RUDE PRAVO Reports Economic 'Slowdown'

AU1304142790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Apr 90 p 1, 2

[Miloslav Hladil report: "Economic Slowdown?"]

[Text] Prague (From our correspondent)— This year's first quarter has been worse than last year's—the economy is slowing down. This is how the development of our economy in the first three months of the year can be briefly characterized.

According to information provided by Federal Statistical Office officials, industrial production dropped 3.6 percent. An important share in this decline is seen in the reduction of production in energy-intensive industrial branches. Coal production has declined, and there are also problems arising from the conversion from military to civilian production. It cannot be ignored, however, that the inadequate adaptability of our producers to the needs of both domestic and foreign markets also has an unfavorable impact. In a number of cases the enterprises face problems due to the departure of employees following the declaration of amnesty. In many places labor discipline also leaves much to be desired. The fact that labor productivity has dropped 1.9 percent testifies to the fact that this discipline is not everywhere at a good level.

In the first three months of this year, construction work carried out by workers employed in the construction industry dropped by six percent, compared to the same period last year. In March alone this figure was 9.2 percent. This drop is tied especially to the reduction in capital investment and in the number of workers. Labor productivity declined 2.5 percent. The rapid rise in wages is at odds with this decline, which is also true of industry.

In agriculture, procurement of livestock products has risen, which has a positive impact on the domestic market food supply. Procurement of slaughter animals has been 2.7 percent higher compared to the first quarter of last year, and procurement of slaughter poultry 4.9 percent higher. The situation cannot be unequivocally characterized as positive, however. There is a hidden effort on the part of many agricultural enterprises to reduce the livestock inventory in view of the anticipated fodder shortage. This trend could cause difficulties in supply during the second half of this year.

Retail trade turnover increased 6.7 percent, compared with the first three months of last year. This increase is also caused by the continuing interest of Czechoslovak citizens in merchandise, especially of an investment nature. Tourism also had considerable influence; for example, the number of tourists from Austria in our country in January and February last year was 32,000, compared with 630,000 this year.

CSFR To Have Share in New European Bank

AU1304085790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Apr 90 p 7

[CTK report: "European Bank: Agreement on the Main Issues"]

[Excerpts] Paris—The third meeting of future shareholders of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development of Central and Eastern Europe (BERD) ended in Paris on Monday [9 April]. [passage omitted]

In an interview with the CTK correspondent, Josef Tosovsky, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, who headed the Czechoslovak delegation, said that the bank's starting capital stock will be 10 billion European Currency Units (over $12 billion). The distribution of this capital among individual member countries was also agreed upon. Czechoslovakia's share will be 128 million European Currency Units, which is no small sum. It is approximately the same amount as Poland or Yugoslavia have. Czechoslovakia's stake is larger than that of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania.

Taxation Rates for Private Businesses

AU1404170790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Apr 90 p 5

[Pavel Paral report: "What Taxes for Private Business?"]

[Text] The level of taxation is the focal point of interest for many citizens who want to establish a private business. They have asked us what we know about the steps that are being taken.

Private entrepreneurs—with the exception of those who will be entered in the register of companies—will be subject to the personal income tax [dan z prijmu obyvatelstva]. Stanislav Sourek, Czechoslovak Federative Republic deputy finance minister, informed deputies of the Federal Assembly Committee for Industry, Transportation and Commerce about the proposed tax rate. He drew attention to the fact that the government has not discussed the proposal yet and that some changes

may still be made to it. According to the Federal Finance Ministry, income up to 60,000 korunas [a year] will be taxed at the rate of 15 percent. The tax on incomes from 60,000 to 180,000 korunas is 9,000 korunas plus 25 percent on the amount exceeding 60,000 korunas. The tax on incomes from 180,000 to 540,000 will be 39,000 korunas plus 35 percent on the amount exceeding Kcs180,000. The tax on incomes from 540,000 to 1,080,000 will be 165,000 korunas plus 45 percent on the amount exceeding Kcs540,000. On the amount exceeding 1,080,000 the taxpayer will pay 408,000 korunas plus 55 percent on the amount exceeding Kcs1,080,000.

Private entrepreneurs entered in the register of companies, that is—according to the draft law on private enterprise—those whose income exceeds 540,000 or who have more than 25 employees, are to be taxed according to the amended law on corporate income tax [duchodova dan]. They will pay 20 percent from the principal sum of 200,000, plus 55 percent of whatever exceeds this sum.

Wholesale Fuel Price To Rise 30-40 Percent in Jul

AU1404180190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Apr 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Utilization of Fuels"]

[Text] Prague— Next week, the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power will present to the Czechoslovak Federative Republic [CSFR] Government the concept of state energy policy for the period until 2005. The concept focuses on the possibilities of fuel and power conservation. It is anticipated that the fastest developing sector in the future will be nuclear energy, while conversion to gas and the introduction of a combined production of electricity and heat will continue. In the next decade it will not be possible to increase power consumption. While consumtion by the population and the tertiary sector is expected to increase, manufacturing enterprises will have to cut their consumption by the same amount. Power engineers are troubled the most by the delay in the Mochovce and Temelin nuclear plant construction. The ministry expects much from the adjustment of wholesale prices, which should go into effect on 1 July. The increase will apply to coal for power stations, coke, electric power, and heat, which will go up by 40 percent, and to coking coal, i.e., bituminous coal, which will go up 30 percent. Retail prices are under the jurisdiction of the CSFR Finance Ministry and Federal Price Office. Subsidies from the state budget for fuel and power prices amount to 7.96 billion korunas this year.

Deputy Premier Dlouhy on 'Rough Times' Ahead

AU1104140390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 6 Apr 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, by Jiri Leschtina in Brno; date not given: "Crossroads Cannot Be Bypassed"]

[Text] We recently commented on the government's lack of flexibility. It should respond much faster to the growth of public anxiety caused by the lack of information on the further progress of economic reforms. The very next day V. Dlouhy, deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic [CSFR] and chairman of the State Planning Commission, telephoned our editorial office. He did not agree with all the comments. Nevertheless, he informed us of the intention to summon Czechoslovak company directors as soon as possible. This really was the beginning of our dialogue, which culminated at the Brno meeting between representatives of our industry and government members. The outcome of the sometimes concordant, sometimes controversial exchange of views between the deputy premier and us is this very interview:

[Leschtina] The revolution euphoria is fading fast, and the public is beginning to ask—what next?

[Dlouhy] Lately, more and more voices are heard pressing the government for a more lucid pronouncement on the economic reform program. We are ready for it. Already some time ago the CSFR premier appeared before the trade unions' assembly, and only a little later M. Calfa presented an even more fundamental and emphatic speech to the Federal Assembly. It was in Brno then that we tried, along with Finance Minister V. Klaus to further develop our concept of radical economic reform. Many of the ideas voiced in Brno will be submitted to the government for approval. At the same time, I must stress that our cabinet has been under tremendous pressure from the very first day, regardless of the hundred days of grace that all governments everywhere in the world are granted. This interest and scrutiny by the public, however, must be appreciated. On the other hand, we cannot unduly rush some crucial measures or yield to various external pressures in their preparation.

[Leschtina] Lately, some members of the government have spoken more and more frequently of so-called alternative reform scenarios. Does it mean that differences exist within the government regarding the manner and speed of the introduction of reforms?

[Dlouhy] Yes, I also read in the press that First Deputy Premier Komarek favors a more moderate pace of reform and believes that it will not significantly affect public social security while, allegedly, Minister Klaus and I are pressing for a cogent approach and believe that the social impact will be more severe. This is, however, an unnecessarily harsh way of presenting the problem. We all in the government recognize the necessity of taking steps in the direction of reform as well as the fact that they have to be taken as fast as possible. Various opinions then arise, which we gradually elucidate. One thing is unequivocal: Reform must be accepted as a package of intertwined, consistent steps which must all begin concurrently during a very short time period. I stress, they must be taken at the same time!

[Leschtina] Can you comment on the opinions that the government keeps postponing a radical reform so as not to tarnish its reputation by unpopular measures before the elections?

[Dlouhy] I would only say, perhaps, that the election date cannot be related to the progress of the reforms. Before we introduce actual reform measures, we must deal with legislative problems and prepare several laws without which the market economy simply cannot exist. Most of them should be adopted by the Federal Assembly by the end of June. We know already today, however, that these laws will be only a theoretical structure with numerous inadequacies which will manifest themselves only after the laws are actually enforced. After all even the present legislation in West Europe is the result of a continuous development which took place undisturbed for entire decades. The laws were gradually amended as required by the progress of economic life. The normal economic life in our country was interrupted for forty years. It would be absurd to believe that our government could complete the process, which took decades elsewhere, in just a few months.

[Leschtina] That is why we probably must attempt the impossible. You spoke of consistent steps embodied in the radical proposals that will appear on the government agenda in the next few weeks. Could you elaborate on them in some detail?

[Dlouhy] We insist that the basis of the reform must be a correction of the distorted price system introduced first of all by means of price liberalization. For myself, I believe that we must first remove the negative turnover tax and thereby change retail prices within the next few months and not, as is sometimes rumored, over several years. The more so, as we are able to fully compensate for the negative social impact of the price increases, particularly of food, in pensions. A gradual, but not slow, liberation of price setting in general must follow, and naturally, it will be accompanied by other measures. Already at this time we must attempt to introduce at least a limited convertibility of the koruna so as to enable the companies to purchase hard currency freely on the market. The same applies to privatization, suppression of the role of the plan, and even further reforms in banking. It is necessary to name administrative boards in the state-owned companies, rather than forming self-management bodies which could recall a director at whim. In the advanced economies such a step can be undertaken only by an independent administrative board composed of workers' representatives as well as of representatives of the center, of banks, of research, and even foreign consultants.

[Leschtina] What do you think should be the role played by the government during the transition from state to private ownership, given the conditions of the entirely state-owned and monopolized economy?

[Dlouhy] We have to give up state ownership wherever possible and necessary. An operating market mechanism would be unthinkable without a substantial expansion of the private sector. Of course this does not mean that the government will be the only and the principal driving force behind privatization. It must be a natural process inspired from below, for which the government will create the necessary legislative and institutional environment, including a privatization office. We count on the properties beneficial to the public remaining in the hands of the state. A number of the other enterprises, especially the large ones, will be released for privatization gradually with the provision that the government will cooperate with them on a stabilization program.

[Leschtina] You are also the chairman of the State Planning Commission. How do you envisage its role in the free market system where the basic problems should be dealt with by the financial and price mechanisms rather than by a central planning organ as was the case before?

[Dlouhy] Naturally, it would be naive to believe that the market mechanisms can function without any state regulation. This regulation, however, cannot have anything in common with the planning processes to date, with a long-term outlook detailed in certain numbers, derived from the wish of the country's leadership regarding the size of the growth of the national product. This served as the basis for a five-year plan and one-year plans; and all these plans then, with a big bang, were not met. The main task of a modern planning office is responsible mapping of what this economy can afford in the future. What development can one expect on the labor market is an example, or what is the state of the fixed assets, of funds, and of capital in general, or what trends can one expect from research and development. It must estimate the development in prices of imported raw materials, the situation in exported goods, etc. Precisely on the basis of these strategic considerations the government can prepare a two- to three-year recovery plan which must, understandably, become part of economic reform.

[Leschtina] A look into the future cannot avoid some definite measures toward the change in the economic structure. Uncertainty and anxiety are mounting in companies as a result of the closing down of production that is void of prospects. Can you comment on that?

[Dlouhy] I believe that we have companies with neither good prospects nor bad prospects, but rather good or bad companies. Of course, if the economy is to follow the road of reason, we must understand what production is plausible in our geographic location, with our capabilities, and world market prices. The Czechoslovak economy, no doubt, must switch from heavy industry to a medium or lighter one, and it must develop services. This, of course, does not mean that someone in the center will mercilessly close the heavy industry companies while dogmatically developing services. Many companies will be eliminated from the game absolutely naturally upon the introduction of a harsher environment. It is then precisely the center that must assess how well substantiated this failure is. We must keep in mind that the present price system is far from reflecting the effectiveness of a company. It could also be a company, whether we like it or not, which has a monopoly in the production of important goods which we cannot immediately begin to purchase in the world market. In other

words, the state will intervene on behalf of a failing organization in some well justified cases. On the other hand, many companies will be eliminated from the game with justification, and the state will have to deal with the resulting serious social consequences.

[Leschtina] It is precisely the problem of social and other consequences of the reforms that leads the more radical part of the economic community to the belief that some members of the government see the future in terms that are too rosy.

[Dlouhy] Already in Brno I said that, whatever happens, we are facing some rough times. Moreover, I indicated that only when the unpopular measures are introduced will the real support for this government show. Thanks to its cultural and historical traditions, however, our economy has all the prerequisites to pass through the upcoming complex period—which will come whether or not we want it—without any fundamental destabilizing shocks. Our economy is strong enough to avoid a three-digit inflation figure or enormous foreign debts, and to prevent the total disintegration of the internal market. Certainly some stagnation in the living standard must result from price adjustments. We must count on unemployment stemming from structural changes. The external debt of the state, I believe, will also temporarily grow. We have to get ready in time for all these problems. We have to speedily allocate some funds for support of the weaker strata of the population, for retraining of citizens, and, above all, provide the local organs with conditions suitable for creating new jobs. That is the only way of dealing with the situation in a cultured and civilized manner.

[Leschtina] In conclusion, will you allow me one last question. What do you consider to be the most important issue that would guarantee that one day, looking back at your activity in the Government of National Understanding, you will not have any twinges of conscience?

[Dlouhy] It is that my activities in this government agree with my personal views. Listen, no government can avoid errors. Just as we cannot make an ideal law at this time, we cannot form an ideal government. Whatever government is at power, it must follow the path to the market economy. The path may meander but in any case we will eventually reach a crossroads which cannot be bypassed. The problem is that no one should be able to reproach the government that it hesitates to enter one of these crossroads only because it is too noisy or too complex.

New, Planned Periodicals for Youth

AU1304111990

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 10 April on page 3 carries a 1,400-word article by Karel Pacner entitled "What We Offer, What We Need." The article criticizes the fact that, legally, the MLADA FRONTA publishing house continues to be subordinated to the Union of the Young, the follow-up organization of the Socialist Youth Union, although there now exist over 30 youth and children's organizations, whose publishing needs the MLADA FRONTA publishing house would like to meet. The article expresses the hope that, in connection with the planned law on the expropriation of political parties' property "illegally acquired over the past 42 years," MLADA FRONTA (which had been subordinated to the Czechoslovak Youth Union, the predecessor of the Socialist Youth Union, in 1964) will be allowed to become an independent state enterprise. Speaking about MLADA FRONTA's cooperation with the new youth organizations, Pacner says: "The first fruits of this cooperation are beginning to show. In March you found at the newsstands the first issue of ZRCADLO [Mirror], the biweekly publication of Bohemia and Moravia students. In May we will start publishing IKARIE for science fiction fans and their clubs as well as TY A JA [You and I], a magazine for young families. In June it will be the domestic version of the international monthly UNESCO KURYR [UNESCO MESSENGER]. In the fall we will start publishing the weekly JUNAK-SKAUT [Stalwart Youth-Scout], the monthly SKAUTING [Scouting], the ecological magazine MODRE Z NEBE [Blue Skies], and will resume publishing the weekly MY 90 (91, 92...) [We 90]. The publication of other periodicals is being considered as well, including one for the rural youth, for the Union of the Young, etc."

Pacner says that MLADA FRONTA will be able to meet its plans when it becomes an independent enterprise, i.e. when it will be able to keep and reinvest its profits (which reportedly average 16 million korunas a year) and modernize its outdated equipment.

Trade Union Periodical Changes Name, Content

AU1204203990 Prague PRACE in Czech 10 Apr 90 p 2

["ts"-signed report: "New SONDY"]

[Excerpts] With the extinction of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and of the practices of its former leading bodies, the periodical ODBORAR [Trade Unionist], too, is undergoing transformation. Its composition will change at the beginning of May. The new biweekly for trade union policy will be called SONDY ODBOROVYCH SVAZU [Trade Union Probes]. Instead of verbose "instructions from above," SONDY really wants to probe into people's lives and work. It wants to render service to primary trade union organizations and all trade union members, provide information on planned and valid legal provisions, and publish experts' opinions on the most varied subjects and thereby expand its readers' horizons. [passage omitted] Subscribers to ODBORAR will receive SONDY automatically.

Gorbachev's Stance on Lithuania Supported

AU1304115190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Apr 90 p 2

[Frank Wehner article: "For an Emergency"]

[Text] Gorbachev's declaration that Lithuania might be placed under the administration of the Presidium has added new fuel to the controversy over the Baltics. Some people interpret this declaration as nothing but a threat and a return to the all too well-known policy of strength.

However, those that believe this have ignored one fact; namely, that the conditions for such a momentous step are clearly defined. It would be considered only "in the case of emergency"; that is to say, when one would have to avoid open fighting.

If the situation were to escalate in such a tragic way, only Moscow would be able to stop these developments. The new Lithuanian leadership, headed by Vytautas Landsbergis, a professor of musicology with no political experience, would most likely not be able to cope with such a situation. It does not require a lot of imagination to imagine the consequences of a burning Baltic state—not least for all of Europe.

Moreover, the majority of the USSR population would never forgive its president if he were to remain passive in such a situation. The messages in which the national movements of the individual republics have expressed their solidarity with Vilnius cannot obscure the fact that the current events in the Baltics are not generally approved of.

Only recently, the deputies of the group "Soyus," which is not exactly a very small group, demanded that the Lithuanian Supreme Council be dissolved, "Sajudis" be outlawed, and that the state immediately be placed under the authority of the Presidium. Gorbachev's declaration is rather a rebuff of the "hawks," and it is the minimum of what he had to do under the Soviet Constitution, given his duties as president.

Whether Gorbachev will ever be forced to intervene will depend not the least on Lithuania itself.

De Maiziere on Planned Monetary Union

LD1704094790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0921 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Tokyo (ADN)—The new GDR Government will protect the financial interests of its population in the negotiations with the FRG on currency union, due to begin on 23 April, Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere explained today in an interview with the Japanese newspaper group ASAHI. The exchange rate would have utmost priority in the talks on economic integration, in which his government insists on a rate of 1:1 for savings, salaries, and pensions. Bundesbank proposals which differ from this would reduce incomes in the GDR and are unacceptable, De Maiziere said. The GDR Government considers that the key issue in the negotiations with the FRG is the avoidance of social confusion.

Antitrust Laws Urged To Avert Monopolies

LD1704084490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0816 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Guenter Halm, in charge of forming an office for the protection of competition, has advocated the creation as soon as possible of antitrust laws for the prevention of monopolies. In an ADN interview, he announced that the state authorities, working alongside the Federal Monopolies Commission, would be based starting tomorrow in the building of the former Ministry of Foreign Trade in Berlin.

BILD Says Bishop Forck To Be State President

LD1704095590 Hamburg DPA in German 0939 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck (67), is to be the new state president of the GDR, according to reports in Bild newspaper. The coalition parties in East Berlin have agreed on that, the paper reported today, quoting government circles.

All the parties in the GDR have repeatedly called for a clergyman to be the new head of state, and Bishop Forck has several times been mentioned as a candidate. People's Chamber President Sabine Bergmann-Pohl is at present acting head of state.

Public Opinion Supports Lithuanian Independence

AU1704104890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Apr 90 p 1

['K.Z.'-signed report: "Opinions On Lithuania"]

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center conducted a poll in the first few days of April on Lithuania's declaration of independence. The results of the poll show the Polish public's almost unanimous acceptance of Lithuania's right to be independent, but showed divided opinions on how the separation from the USSR could be best achieved.

Some 43 percent of those questioned thought that Lithuanian independence should be immediate and unconditional; namely, precisely in the manner that the Lithuanian parliament had proclaimed it. The same percentage of those questioned thought that it should have occurred after talks with the Soviet authorities, which would have taken more time.

Some 83 percent of those questioned were convinced that a sovereign Lithuania would maintain friendly relations with Poland.

Additionally, there was the following question; namely, in the event of the USSR splitting into many sovereign republics, how would this effect Poland? The prevailing opinion was that such an outcome would be favorable to Poland and some 46 percent of those questioned, expressed this view. The opposite view was expressed by 26 percent, and another 26 percent declined to give their opinion on the subject.

Government Urges Soviet Government-Republic Talks

LD1604200590 Warsaw PAP in English 1849 GMT 16 Apr 90

["Statement by Polish Foreign Minister"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 16—The Polish Government stand on Lithuania defined in a statement of March 12 remains topical.

I particularly think that a solution to this question should be sought in talks between the Soviet Government and authorities of the republic. All tension in this region arouses justified concern of the Polish people as a neighbour of the Lithuanian people, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said.

Skubiszewski Urges Peaceful Resolution

LD1604224690 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 16—Skubiszewski said that the stand of the Polish Government on Lithuania remains the same and that the Folish people want good relations with the Lithuanian people.

The Polish Government considers it in the interest of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe that all changes which respect justified national aspirations be carried out peacefully, recognizing the stability of this part of Europe.

The Polish Government also expressed hope and belief that Lithuania and the Soviet Union will settle their problems respecting these principles.

SdRP Welcomes Soviet Statement on Katyn

LD1704102190 Warsaw PAP in English 0924 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—Today's TRYBUNA LUDU carries a statement on Katyn by general secretary of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland SDRP Leszek Miller. The statement reads as follows:

We welcome with appreciation the Soviet authorities' statement on Stalinist crimes committed on Polish officers in the Soviet Union during World War Two.

The testimony of truth about those crimes has legal, but above all moral significance. It serves national remembrance of those murdered. It backs up all those wishing to shape friendship among nations without falsehood and ambiguity.

We are convinced that it creates new possibilities for the development of friendly partner-like relations between Poland and the USSR.

Border With Lithuania, Ukraine Assessed

AU1104215590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 6 Apr 90 p 2

[W. Mickiewicz commentary: "Not Only Lithuanian Dilemmas"]

[Text] The first thought that crossed my mind as I looked at the map of "Free Lithuania" was that it had to be a mistake, or sheer provocation. Was it possible that a state that had not fully come into being as a sovereign country had deliberately set out to make enemies? Could it be possible that Lithuania was demanding a 10 percent territorial increase?

The fact that it is the supporters of Lithuanian sovereignty who are waving these maps of "Free Lithuania" and that this map is freely distributed should put a stop to the illusion that this is a mere prank.

We ought to be taking the territorial claims of our neighbors very seriously. We should then pause and think hard whether there is any implicit contradiction between the morality that motivates Poles to support the aspirations of other countries for freedom and sovereignty and the exigencies of the Polish raison d'etat. Are we far too distracted by the process of German reunification and the possible dangers this may hold for us in the West, to even notice what is happening beyond our Eastern borders?

The question is important, because it is not just the Lithuanians, but also the nationalist Ukrainians who are beginning to voice territorial claims to our lands.

If we want to secure the position of Poland's raison d'etat in conditions that have radically altered in and around Poland, then we should not dispatch politicians to preach sermons that rely solely on their moral power in relation to any problem, but instead, we should be sending statesmen who can be relied upon to put the immediate and future interests of the Polish state and nation above all else.

In yesterday's commentary, RZECZPOSPOLITA stated that the principles that underly Poland's foreign policy are still unclear. That paper also accuses our Foreign Ministry and Polish public opinion of superficiality in the way that it seeks to protect Polish state and national interests around its rapidly changing periphery. It is difficult to argue with RZECZPOSPOLITA's point of view.

A certain British politician is quoted as saying that his country has no eternal friends or enemies, it only has permanent interests. I think that it would be worthwhile reminding all our traveling politicians, as well as our journalists of this saying. It is sometimes quite illuminating to read the maps and not just the written declarations.

Jaruzelski Views Europe From Atlantic to Urals

AU1704082090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Apr 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with President Wojciech Jaruzelski by Pavol Minarik in Warsaw on 5 April: "Mutual Cooperation and Cooperation Within the Framework of the Continent"]

[Text] On Thursday night [5 April], President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Pavol Minarik, RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA Warsaw reporter, in the Belwedere Palace, the head of state's residence, and answered his questions.

[Minarik] What ideas about future Polish-Hungarian-Czechoslovak coexistence are you coming to the Bratislava meeting with?

[Jaruzelski] With the idea of good-neighborly relations, real friendship, and close and versatile cooperation in all areas. At the same time, I have a safe Europe and mutually advantageous relations on my mind. There are conditions for the broader interconnection of our complementary economies. I believe that it is important not to lose—in the processes which are now taking place in our countries—the results of our cooperation to date, results which do exist and which cannot be forgotten. On the other hand, it is important to make use of the new possibilities which have been created by democracy and by the removal of some obstacles and barriers, and so on.

To put it briefly, it is important that these elements represent the driving force behind the establishment of the new forms of cooperation. It is difficult, for the time being, to speak specifically and precisely about the organizational shape of our cooperation. Some time ago, far-reaching ideas on establishing a union or confederation were presented. I personally believe that in our daily lives we should stimulate the process of mutual cooperation. It is certain that countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland—if cooperating very closely—may, as a whole, become more attractive and more dynamic partners for Europe, for our neighbors, who can contribute more to the process currently underway on our continent.

[Minarik] Europe is changing in front of our eyes. What advantages and what problems can this, in your opinion, bring for our countries?

[Jaruzelski] There is a political, economic, and geographic Europe. It depends which Europe we are going to speak about. I wish we could talk about a Europe comprising the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals. I am aware, however, of the fact that it is impossible to mechanically compare all the countries in Europe. One thing is certain, however. The changes which are happening mostly in the East, but also in the West—that is, mainly in Germany—create both new problems and new opportunities. It is important to make use of these possibilities, mainly in two areas: security and the economy.

It is important that the two parts of Europe do come together and that the changes ensuing from this process lead toward improving security, toward limitations on armaments, and toward creating a system guaranteeing—more than ever—a peaceful coexistence. In the sphere of the economy, due to contemporary progress in technology, there are new great possibilities, above all, for the East European countries. These countries could benefit from cooperation with countries more advanced than ours. Various restrictions which prevent us from acquiring the latest technology can—and I believe they will—be reduced or completely lifted. This would help us catch up with the rest of Europe, bringing us big advantages as a consequence.

We have to add, of course, a number of completely self-evident questions related to our cultures, interpersonal relations, and parliamentary and other contacts which would make this positive development complete.

[Minarik] The process of German reunification and the permanency of the Oder-Neisse borders cannot be separated. How will the question of Poland's western border, according to you, influence the course of this process?

[Jaruzelski] We do not want anyone to think of us, of Poles, as a society dominated by prejudices or as a society approaching the European question from some "Polish-oriented" standpoint. Of course, we are aware of the fact that a nation of almost 40 million, situated in the center of Europe, has an influence on the development of the processes in this part of the continent.

Poland's western borders is the only serious issue in Europe, which has not yet been completely solved and confirmed by one of the parties. By this, I mean the FRG. Of course, there are other centers of unrest in Europe, but their character is totally different from the character of our question concerning our western borders with Germany. Here, the territorial arrangement after World War II is being questioned. Anything leading to its violation would be a threat, not only for Poland, but also for stability in Europe.

Today, we do not treat this problem dramatically; we do not believe that our border could be forcibly changed. But anything that is unclear, doubtful, or equivocal does not contribute to integration and cooperation in Europe. The unambiguous approach to the question of the Oder-Neisse border is an element of the successful development of the positive processes on our continent.

[Minarik] How would you characterize the changes which have taken place in Poland and the process of national understanding since the end of the roundtable talks?

[Jaruzelski] It is a process which is developing faster than had been expected at the beginning. The pace of changes has outrun the forecasts. The changes are more far-reaching and deeper and that requires, of course, more vigilance on our part in order to prevent disturbances in the balance and stability of this process. But the main thing is to retain the "roundtable" idea.

It must be maintained despite the fact that specific agreements have been overridden by the processes which have followed. Briefly, it is important to retain the idea of understanding and dialogue, an idea which must not be disrupted, despite the fact that such danger may appear at the beginning of the reformist process taking place in our country. This danger is not strong enough to threaten this process, but it could become stronger, and this is why we have to pay attention to this problem.

[Minarik] By the end of last year you said—regarding the changes taking place in Poland—that these changes are a great historical experiment and a great opportunity, which must not be missed. What endangers them at the present time? Are you an optimist?

[Jaruzelski] The biggest problem, or threat, is represented by what is happening in the economy, which is a base for everything and which influences the life and mood of the people. The reforms we are making now are very difficult and painful. The transition across this period represents just this problem. So far, our society has accepted the painful side of the reforms with a feeling of responsibility and understanding. I believe that this feeling of responsibility will remain, which makes me a cautious optimist.

I would like to add a few words to this. We ourselves, as well as our neighbors and other countries, consider the Poles to be people who can make sacrifices, but only for a short period of time, or as a single act—especially in a military battle—but who are not capable of a longer lasting effort and of everyday sacrifices. Life during the last few months has shown that even this point of view may change. It appears that our society is capable of taking these changes seriously if it believes that these changes are inevitable. I must admit, that this is, in some sense, something new to me.

[Minarik] Will the transition to a different political and economic system based on competition not require substantially more sacrifices and patience than this society is willing to admit today? How to harmonize the interests of all the parties; that is, the interests of the state and of society in this difficult process?

[Jaruzelski] I have partially explained this in my previous answer. It is certain that the time of self-denial has not ended yet. The process is a lasting one and, just as during an operation, it is possible to more or less anesthetize a certain part of the body which is being operated on. Also here, the principle can be applied that less insensitivity might be more painful, but post-operative recovery may be achieved sooner. If insensitivity is greater, then the process is longer and less effective. In past years, we have adopted various economic reforms but, taking society's resistance into account, we were implementing the latter method in the form of big income increases, which were supposed to compensate for price increases. The final effect was an endless circle. That is why, if we want to get out of it, we have to employ more painful healing methods. These methods must be also supported by taking political steps.

I can tell you that in our country there was a view that Czechs and Slovaks live well and that they are not going to change the system only because they have a limited democracy. It has become apparent that interest in democracy is significant and that enough food is not enough if people lack possibilities to take an active part in public life. Maybe, in relation to our neighbors and friends, we are ahead just in this respect because we started to introduce some changes earlier.

We started with the so-called revival a few years ago. In this connection, institutions have been established which make our life more democratic. Our neighbors watched us with criticism at that time. Using the language of dialectics, I can say that those changes were quantitative changes. Last year and this year, the changes have been qualitative ones. Quantity has become quality, a quality of totally new solutions.

It has become apparent that the doctrine on the leading role of the party has become unsustainable, despite our sincere belief in it. We implemented this doctrine as we believed it was the best solution for ensuring constitutional order. Each country and each government has to adopt unpopular measures, especially in the economy. The are no such countries in which it would be possible to solve all the problems by popular measures only.

In adopting such unpopular measures, however, it is necessary to be backed by the majority of society. And

this is possible only if there are democratic structures permitting the majority to elect such administrative organs and a government whose decisions are trusted and implemented. Otherwise, the situation would be similar to the one which we already had in the past. We adopted justified and unpopular measures which met with society's resistance. This resistance had, in addition to this, various dramatic and even explosive forms.

The creation of a new parliamentary platform is one of the guarantees and assurances enabling us to implement difficult tasks and, at the same time, to gain the support of society. Of course, this does not mean that this trust will last forever. Society must know that all of this will bring results and that its expectations will be met. Were we to fail to meet these expectations, then—after patience expires—new problems will arise.

[Minarik] Tell us, what is your opinion about your southern neighbors, about our country, about Czechs and Slovaks, and about the problems which we are facing just now?

[Jaruzelski] I do not want you to think that I am being polite because I am talking to a Czechoslovak journalist, but, sincerely, I do like Czechs and Slovaks. They are, and they will be, close to my heart. Even my name is connected to Czechoslovakia. Wojciech means Vojtech in Czech, does it not? Not only that. My father studied in Bohemia before World War I.

[Minarik] In which city did he study and what did he study?

[Jaruzelski] He studied at the Agricultural College in Tabor. When I was a young boy, my father used to tell me about the years he spent in your country. During my visits to Czechoslovakia, I had the opportunity to confirm my childhood image of your country, an image of hard work and of your people's responsibility. I had, and still have, a lot of friends in Czechoslovakia. I like their mentality and sense of humor. I would like to use the opportunity given to me by RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA to wish your countrymen all the best in these difficult, but still promising, times.

[Minarik] Significant political changes have been made on both sides of our border. What opportunities for cooperation do you see in this qualitatively new situation?

[Jaruzelski] I am going to repeat what I have said already, that is, that we have to retain all the good things created during the past 10 years. There are plenty of such good things. Not only in economic but also in cultural cooperation and in relations among the numerous young people who have visited your country in past years. I can also see the new possibilities, which the reformist process is bringing. These new possibilities bring us together and they also show us that our ways are similar.

There are real possibilities to "defrost" various bureaucratic obstacles and formalism in our mutual relations. Our relations will have to be fully based on mutual confidence, sincerity, and respect for the other partner's interests. Broad scope for possibilities is opening in front of us. It will depend on us how we use it to our mutual benefit.

[Minarik] Let me ask you a few personal questions. What has made you happy lately and what has disturbed you?

[Jaruzelski] Above all, I am pleased that such great changes are being made in a peaceful manner; in a manner which does not disturb the life of society. Ecological problems disturb me. Ecological problems represent a big threat to man and his species. This is not an alarm which has been raised today and which will fade tomorrow. Moreover, it is our common problem to which we should pay joint attention.

I am also bothered by the everyday problems in our country which we all have to face. Such is life, however. Also, some extremist manifestations in our society bother me. Unfortunately, in our country a very harmful theory has been revived—a theory professed by Stalin in his times—which says that after the adversary has been defeated and weakened, the class struggle becomes stronger. This theory has cost millions of lives. Of course, there is no such threat in our country, but the temptation to crush the defeated ones to dust still potentially exists. I am afraid of this also, but I believe that reason will prevail. I believe that the political responsibility of my countrymen, of Poland's political forces, and of T. Mazowiecki's government—which I hold in esteem—will win. I am convinced that we will face this threat together.

[Minarik] Could you tell our readers, please, something about yourself? For example, which values are the most important for you, and also something about your closest family members....

[Jaruzelski] I hate to be pathetic and I do not want to improve my image and that is why I am going to reply in a very simple way. My life is a life of a soldier devoted to the service of his country. I feel that the sense for responsibility toward my nation, country, and people, with whom I work and live, is very important.

As far as my closest family is concerned, my wife is a university lecturer at the faculty of German studies. My daughter Monica has finished her Polish studies. But, during her studies, she became interested in film production and this is what she is doing today. I feel sorry that I have so little time for my family. Both my wife and daughter complain about this.

[Minarik] Does the Jaruzelski family discuss politics? Do your wife and daughter agree with you on political opinions?

[Jaruzelski] It is quite understandable that both are less interested in politics than myself. My wife agrees with my political opinions. She lives through all the problems, difficulties, and uncertainties even more emotionally

than I, myself. Monica distances herself from politics like the majority of young people. Her reaction to politics is reduced to the how-is-my-father-doing point of view. She apparently trusts me. She believes that whatever I do, I do it well. But she is not interested in politics to such an extent that she would actively participate in political life.

[Minarik] Have you been to Bratislava before? What are your memories?

[Jaruzelski] It was a long time ago. I remember Bratislava as a nice town on the Danube River. I remember Bratislava Castle. It was in summer; there were lots of green plants around. During the evening, I must confess, we were in a wine bar. I remember pleasant and joyful people who sang very nicely. We, Poles, are obviously less musical than Slovaks. These are my memories of Bratislava.

Onyszkiewicz Reviews Jaruzelski's USSR Visit

LD1604173690 Warsaw PAP in English
1638 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 16—Polish Deputy Minister of Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz, commenting on the visit paid by President Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Soviet Union, told PAP (excerpts):

I am very satisfied with the talks which I held with top representatives of the Soviet Ministry of Defence. Basing on the course of the present talks, I think that we will be able to talk to one another in a constructive way. We achieved certain concrete results concering the lowering of the number of Soviet troops stationed in Poland in order to limit burdens for residents of towns where Soviet troops are stationed.

The visit in Lvov, where I was born, was a moving experience. The most moving moment was a meeting with Poles. It is an important fact that we are beginning to talk with the Ukrainians in Lvov and Kiev, that we are expanding the entire infrastructure of mutual links. I think that after the German-French reconciliation, after the forthcoming, I hope, German-Polish reconciliation, the Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation will be the third vital stage on the road towards building a new Europe, said Onyszkiewicz.

President of the Polish Academy of Sciences Aleksander Gieysztor said: We had lot of work during negotiations with the Soviet side on various topics of our relations, which are shaped today on the interstate plane which of course also demands new formulas.

We discussed vital issues concerning access to documents dealing with the history of Polish culture in the Ukraine, especially in Lvov and Kiev. There is a great chance opening here for work aimed to fully secure these cultural values against destruction and make them accessible to Polish science.

This visit also brought concrete results with respect to regaining of some of our cultural relics. Ready for shipment from the Soviet Union to Poland are bronze doors from the end of the 15th century which once were in Gniezno, Poznan and Wloclawek.

Lafontaine on Polish-German Military Brigade

LD1104165790 Warsaw PAP in English
1500 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—During his last weeks stay in Poland Oscar Lafontaine, minister-president of the government of Saarland and Social Democratic Party vice-chairman, spoke to newsmen about his idea concerning the formation of a Polish-German military brigade. The concept seems to be breathtaking if one takes into consideration a long road leading to a new Europe and German unification.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the candidate for FRG chancellor told the Saarland Diet that such a Polish-German unit would be a corner stone of a new security system in Europe.

Lafontaine spoke about his concept in very broad terms. At a press concerence here on April 5 he admitted that it was not most decisive for him that the joint brigade stationed at the territory of contemporary GDR but its much more significant impact was that its setting up would automatically put the issue of security of individual states on the daily agenda. Gradually, an integrated security system might replace military blocs. Moreover, this would be a form of Polish-German cooperation.

A week after the first address by Lafontaine, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski presented a similar concept. He took the floor at the forum of the West European union in Luxembourg and also granted an interview for the Belgian LE SOIR daily on March 23 on the issue in question. "I even consider the stationing in East Germany of German-Polish or German-Czechoslovak brigades modelled on a French-German approach," he said.

The fact that similar ideas were similarly timed may have been accidental. Asked about this, Lafontaine answered here that "clearly, it is time to put forward such an idea, and in this sense time convergence was not accidental at all."

In reference to the French example Lafontaine and Skubiszewski meant a 4,200-strong brigade formed after a year and a half's preparations recently and stationed in Baden-Wurttemberg, South Western FRG.

After a meeting with Lafontaine, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club Bronislaw Geremek said: "Plans to form such a joint brigade may be discussed in the same terms as German-French rapprochement. The

German-French brigade is a result of removing of causes of deeply rooted historical conflicts between France and Germany."

Is the idea of a Polish-German brigade a mere fancy? One cannot overlook that many things unthinkable in this part of Europe still half a year ago become reality under our eyes.

Walesa on Plans To Run for President

LD1704115190 Warsaw PAP in English 1036 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—In his interview with the government daily "RZECZPOSPOLITA", Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, asked about his plans to run for the presidential post, said in part:

On his candidacy: "My answer is: It will be good if [the] president comes from the grass-roots and is with solidarity in spirit. Secondly, nobody knows when this will happen. Thirdly, Polish affairs can be handled (by people of) various roots. The point is not whether I shall be the president or not, but I shall not give up the struggle for pluralism, for democracy, for the 25 years which I have devoted to these ideals. I shall find a place where I shall be able to continue (this task), in Solidarity, and maybe in future from the presidential post.

"The fact that my statement concerning reforms has been interpreted directly as the start for the presidency means that such is the need, that the world is waiting for it. Probably, it would be more comfortable for the world if that happened. I do not care for this post. I care for the reforms."

On Mazowiecki: "If it happened that I would become president then I would like Tadeusz Mazowiecki to be the premier, and I would turn to him and compel him to fast reactions, whereas today we have the situation that the president neither hinders nor helps. We are not using the chances."

On Jaruzelski: "He is in a difficult situation. His curriculum vitae is complicated. Is it an obstacle? Anyway, as a person I would not like to be in his position. However, it is necessary to realize that the situation now is not what it should be."

Walesa, 'Union of Real Politics' Head View Issues

LD1304211890 Warsaw PAP in English 1711 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Gdansk, April 13—Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa received today head of the union of real politics Janusz Korwin-Mikke to discuss labour movement issues and socio-political problems of the country.

Korwin-Mikke assured Walesa that his party, with some 4,000 members, would take part in elections to local governments.

Progress of Balcerowicz Economic Program Viewed

PM1204151590 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Jerzy Baczynski article: "Where Do These Steps Lead?]

[Text] Several weeks after the launching of the government economic program we can allow ourselves a quiet sigh of relief. So far nothing has happened that could destroy the Balcerowicz program's chances of success. This in itself counts as initial success. The population took the drastic drop in real wages exceedingly calmly; after the insane rise in the first weeks of January, prices became more stable; the wage blockade proved to be more effective than expected; the dollar's rate of exchange maintained an admirable stability; and work discipline improved noticeably under the threat of unemployment... On the other hand... Yes, precisely: The production slump in January was worse than even the most pessimistic scenarios had envisaged, and prognoses for the next months are even worse. So what are we to think about it all? Where do these steps lead?

Let us begin with tangibles—that is, the economic situation in January. The government clearly underestimated the inflation-spinning effects of its own decisions to increase the price of power and the foreign currency exchange rates as well as abolish state subsidies and price controls. Inflation was expected to be in the order of 40 percent, whereas in effect it must have exceeded 70 percent, while consumer good prices rose in January by some 90 percent.

Each government likes to underestimate inflation predictions in order not to cry wolf, since it knows that these forecasts are used as guidelines by producers when the latter determine the prices of their products—and then add a bit more on top again, just to be on the safe side. But the tactic of underestimating inflation predictions could have another purpose: The government announced that the interest on savings accounts (and loans) would correspond to the rate of inflation, though it would have been more honest if it had also explained that in this case it was the predicted instead of actual rate of inflation. Consequently, the January inflation rate of 36 percent meant that the compensation for the drop in the value of the savings accounts amounted only to 50 percent at the most. On the other hand, however... If we were to settle for a higher interest rate, then this would virtually rule out bank loans, since at the rate of 40 percent per month they would be inaccessible to a majority of economic subjects. I am not saying this was a deliberate manipulation; perhaps the computers at the Finance Ministry really calculated the January inflation as running at 40 percent

The high price increases of the first weeks of 1990, though higher than envisaged, does not necessarily have to be a reason for our concern. Those who were to lose—lost. This is tough on them, but at least in return we have a chance of stemming inflation more quickly.

Manufacturers set the prices of their products so horrendously high that they almost immediately turned against them.

After the new year, producers followed the old pattern: They calculated cost increases, added their profits, and dictated thus decided market prices to the retail sector. The latter added its markup and, in turn, set the retail prices for the buyers. But this time the offer was not taken up, because, simply, people ran out of money. Had the manufacturers increased their prices a bit more gradually, the clash with the demand barrier would have occurred somewhat later and would have been less painful..However, already after a few weeks the warehouses of the majority of enterprises are bursting with unsold goods and a number of enterprises had to halt production and send their work forces away on enforced leave.

All this happened so soon that neither managers nor work forces know how to react to it. Only a few try to lower their prices and costs, not to mention laying off employees. Others wait, hopefully, for signs of sales setting off again: There will be cheaper loans; or perhaps they will get a chance to land an export contract; finally, people will surely begin to buy footwear, clothes, and televisions sets again after the first price shock. Unfortunately, there is nothing to indicate that the domestic market will again enjoy a situation, as in the good old times, where demand is higher than supply and everything and anything can be sold at arbitrary prices.

This is because the Balcerowicz plan has to date proved extremely effective in an area where all the previous anti-inflation programs failed dismally: It managed to call a halt to wage increases. The January statistics, for which I waited with mounting anxiety, actually look quite unbelievable. Compared with December 1989, in the first month of 1990 wages in five major sectors of the economy rose by only 1.3 percent. This—let me reiterate—at the time when price increases went up by some 70 percent! This means (and here I should be using the exclamation mark again) that real wages went down by 40 percent in January. No such move has been recorded in European statistics for decades, and it would even be hard to find a precedent worldwide. How did we achieve this "success" which within a month managed to turn us into paupers, but at the same time clipped the wings of inflation?

The government inserted into its enterprise financial and taxation system a ruthless wage tax (the so-called "neo-popiwek" [tax on wages above the normative limit; term coined from polish abbreviation of tax name, ppw]), which became operative as soon as the given enterprise dared to raise its wages above the agreed limit (in January, 30 percent of the inflation rate; from February to April, 20 percent). Consequently, wages could have gone up—without the penalty tax—only by 20 percent in January. In effect, they only rose by 1.3 percent. From this it is evident that, for the first time in my memory, enterprises paid lower wages than they could have paid. Why? Because they could not... This is not a paradox: They were free to pay more, but they usually did not have the funds. Let us now take a closer look at this phenomenon.

I mentioned earlier that almost the whole industry felt very acutely the fall in demand in the domestic market, with consumer goods being (so far) hit the hardest. According to findings of the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS], in the face of the violent increases in the prices of foodstuffs at the beginning of the year a predominant majority of households decided to refrain from purchasing consumer goods in case they ran out of money for food. After all, you can wear the same pair of shoes and the same coat for a month or two, and you do not have to buy furniture or a washing machine at the time when prices are unstable and highly uncertain. All in all, 80 percent of households restricted their purchases of consumer goods or stopped them altogether.

Another reason for the decrease in demand is the manufacturers' price policy, which seems to ignore the approaching danger. Yet another reason—perhaps the decisive one—is the suspension of orders from the distribution sector, and especially from wholesale dealers, who are horrified by the high credit interest. For a time they only handled goods which guaranteed quick turnover, and these gradually became scarce. All these mechanisms reinforced one another and this resulted in enterprises selling fewer goods and therefore making less money. Moreover, even the revenues from goods sold tended to be held up in persistent payment delays. This was one of the reasons why producers decided to sell their goods directly from delivery trucks. This resulted in quicker access to cash revenues and lower prices due to bypassing distribution markups. And this is how one of the recent economic phenomena evolved: "on-board sales."

From Enforced Leave to Unemployment

Enterprise managements paid their employees lower wages not only because they did not have the money. This is where the next phenomenon emerged: an almost complete cessation of high-level compensatory pay increases. From interviews with several managers I gathered that work forces, intimidated by the specter of enterprises going bankrupt (whether the specter was realistic or not was immaterial), behaved with exceptional restraint. Paradoxically, this component of enterprise expenditure was, comparatively speaking, the easiest to keep under control, whereas prices of materials, power, transportation, etc. remained outside enterprises' control. Accordingly, one of the reasons they did not pay higher wages was that they could avoid paying them. Moreover, in these circumstances even employees' work discipline improved considerably. Absences due to sick leave were halved in January in comparison with their usual numbers. The unemployment hysteria came into operation.

I say "hysteria" because so far unemployment has not really struck with full force. The number of 56,000 unemployed given in official statements in January is largely attributable to our inefficient labor exchange system and our inexperience with registration of and coping with the unemployed. To date we have had few classic instances of mass laying-off of work forces, though both enterprise managements and trade union organizations warn us that they could be starting soon. However, at the moment we still remain in a state of suspended expectation. Enterprise managements are still hoping that they can avoid casualties, that the government, terrified—as it was so many times in the past—by a vision of an economic collapse, will "ease the screw" and loosen the purse strings a little.

Despite the suspended sales, enterprises seem to be rather superficial and sluggish in their reactions. In a majority of cases they just temporarily suspend production (this being the easiest thing to do) and send their employees on enforced leave. Cost and price cuts, production profile changes, new marketing techniques, and work force reductions are not yet included among the measures to which most employers resort in their difficulties. Presumably this was what one of the deputy ministers at the Industry Ministry referred to when he said recently that the real difficulties would only begin for enterprises from February. This is because it is no longer possible to delay the implementation of unpleasant decisions. World Bank estimates envisage the possibility of the number of unemployed in Poland rising to about one million by the end of the year. (Minister Syryjczyk explained that the level of unemployment would also depend on decisions made by those concerned; for example, people could either opt for taking part-time jobs or working on reduced pay or they could elect to accept the status of unemployed.) At the moment most government economic experts are convinced that unemployment will be higher than envisaged (400,000). Why? Because everything indicates that the production decline will be far worse than predicted.

The Economy in Retreat

In January, the socialized industry sold 20 percent less goods than it did 12 months ago; within this figure, the decline in the food industry reached 40 percent and in the consumer goods industry 20 percent. According to Central Planning Administration forecasts, in February production would decline even further, by between 20 and 50 percent depending on the sector, and I should point out here that the government program allowed for an annual production decline of 5-7 percent in 1990. The situation of the production sector is certainly the most alarming phenomenon marking the initial weeks of the implementation of the Balcerowicz program. We should allow for the fact that a decline in production is an inevitable consequence of the drastic anti-inflation therapy based on limiting the demand with respect to the needs of the population, the enterprises, and the budget. Even so, does it really have to be as sharp as latest predictions forecast?

The industry minister, who was asked this question in a television interview, replied that we should not regret any curtailed production branches because, since they were unprofitable, inefficient, and subsidized, their curtailment is rather an indication of the economy becoming healthier again. However, our difficulty is that we we do no know whether it is really the unsatisfactory enterprises that are threatened by the specter of bankruptcy or severe curtailment of production. For example, in the consumer goods industry the drop in demand affected almost all enterprises irrespective of their productivity levels and technological or organizational standards. The industry which provides backup production for the agriculture is using only 50 percent of its production capacities because of the decline in demand on the part of the farmers. The capital investment materials industry faces a highly alarming situation because the economic recession could mean a wholesale disappearance of contracts on which many of its enterprises depend. Similarly, in the face of the sales difficulties, high interest rates, and stiff taxation, thousands of enterprises in the private sector have either already closed down or suspended their production. Presumably also in this case there is no need to cry over the closure of every small business because many of them were taking outrageous advantage of market imbalance, but when we begin to add them up... If production falls by, say, 20 percent in 1990, it will take several years to catch up again.

Anteroom to Purgatory

Before very long—perhaps in February or March—we should witness the first cases of major enterprises going bankrupt. How will the government react? For the time being it does not look as if it was going to rush to the rescue (though it has just set up the first organizations which will offer financial assistance to those enterprises which are likely candidates for successful restructuring). However, even if we assume that the whole of our industry, from the Ursus plant to the FSO automobile factory, is not worth a broken penny and deserves to go bankrupt, there are certain limits of the country's economic security and permissible unemployment levels. Already today, with the introduction of more liberal principles of foreign trade, it is becoming obvious that many Polish factories cannot compete with foreign manufacturers in the price contest. Should they be closed down? If we do, where will we find the money with which to import Japanese television sets or Italian shoes? Even with the whole "schadenfreude" [German for malicious pleasure or gloating] which we may feel at the humiliation of our industry (which had for many years humiliated its own customers), we should give it time to adjust to the new terms and conditions or to demonstrate that it cannot cope.

Let us consider the case of the consumer goods industry. We can expect that, with the considerable drop in the real wages, the majority of consumers would wait two or three months before deciding to buy new shoes or clothes. Which factory is capable of holding out as long

as that? Therefore we already hear voices claiming that, since the January drop in real wages was too drastic—greater than in the Balcerowicz plan—we should now ease off the wages blockade a little and in this way stimulate consumer demand. There is some sense in this, because in January we certainly fulfilled two months' worth of the austerity program. However, on the other hand... After only several weeks of the anti-inflation program it is definitely too early to sound its success and take the foot off the brake. If we are not careful, inflation can easily become uncontrollable again, especially in view of the production decline. As an interim measure, enterprises should try their hands at exporting their goods (this, of course, in addition to steps designed to stimulate domestic sales, such as price reductions, hire-purchase schemes, advertising campaigns, and so on). The export option seems to be a logical step to take; in any case, at the beginning of the year the majority of enterprise managers who answered a POLITYKA questionnaire declared that they would turn their attention to export, especially as they were encouraged to do so by the new dollar exchange rate. But then something happened which I myself cannot quite understand...

According to Main Statistical Office [GUS] findings, in January our exports were 16 percent less than 1 year before, despite the significant devaluation of the zloty, the lowered import barriers (achieved through the introduction of internal convertibility of the zloty, and well-stocked warehouses. If we accept the explanation that the new dollar exchange rate does not guarantee export profitability, this phenomenon is even more alarming, since with each successive week of stable currency exchange rates (and with the high zloty inflation) export becomes less and less profitable. Perhaps the reason is that as soon as special export incentives (tax concessions and enterprise hard currency allowances obtained from foreign sales returns) disappeared, it became obvious that enterprises could not put sufficiently high foreign currency prices on their goods to guarantee that they would at least be able to recover their costs? We shall see what happens next month. The fact that imports are also lower than a year ago (though today you can import for your zlotys!) is an auspicious omen for the dollar's stability, but at the same time it testifies to a general decrease of activity in the economy.

As we remember, the government decided that the most important and most pressing economic task is to stifle the inflation, or rather the hyperinflation which leads directly to a destruction of the economy. After the January experience we can assume that this part of the program has been successful, or in any case we are nearer to this goal today, especially as the population is still showing great patience and great confidence in the government's actions. However, January only marked the beginning of the road. Our main problem in the immediate future is doubtless going to be enterprises going bankrupt and rising unemployment figures. After that, we will have to face another challenge: How to halt the decline in production and energize the dying economy without triggering off another inflation spiral?

In contrast to pronouncements made by certain government members, I should like to sound a warning against the somewhat naive belief that the austerity period will only last several months. If we succeed in stifling inflation, this will only create more favorable conditions for a long-lasting and painful reconstruction of the economy. We are at the moment in an economic purgatory; as I am told, there are two flights of steps out of here, leading either up or down.

Geremek: Support for Economic Program 'Miracle'

PM1104101090 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 4 Apr 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity group leader in the Polish Sejm, by Gerard Reijn; date and place not given: "'It Is a Miracle That the Poles Have Not Gone on Strike'"]

[Text] Amsterdam—In January this year the Polish Government decided to implement an unparalleled economic reform program. Government spending will be drastically reduced, the Polish zloty will be made convertible with the dollar step by step, and wages will be frozen.

The aim was to make a start on the new ideal—the market economy. For this Poland's galloping inflation of more than 1,000 percent per year had to be brought under control. There seems to be some success here: At the end of February monthly inflation of five percent was recorded. Still high, but nothing compared with January's 80 percent.

One of the architects of this Polish "shock therapy" is Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Solidarity group in the Sejm. Geremek himself is surprised that the reform program has produced such results already and has not led to total chaos.

"In January this year we reduced real wages by 42 percent. And there were no strikes. Under previous governments any tampering with living standards was enough for a strike to be called, but not this time. This means that the government enjoys the people's confidence. From opinion polls it appears that 80 percent of the people are still behind the government. Given the cutbacks that have been implemented, that is a miracle.

Geremek described the people's support as "the most important capital that the country has at its disposal." But this capital is not endless. "We must show that policies are producing results. We have already shown that inflation has almost come to a standstill. That is an improvement. We hope to bring the recession to a stop within two months."

This recession—the result of the same government policies—is costing hundreds of thousands of people their jobs. Geremek estimates the fall in economic activity as 25 percent—worse than anticipated. As a result of the fall in purchasing power, 40 percent less butter and meat are being bought, and industrial enterprises are also struggling with great turnover problems. Unemployment will probably rise further, but the recession cannot last forever. "In April, if inflation is under control, we hope to be able to bring more money into circulation, so that people can buy more products."

But Poland can no longer reform the economy under its own steam. "Hitherto the West has been good to us with words and with sympathy. But not with deeds. We want a solution to the problem of Poland's debts. Poland took on enormous debts in the seventies. The system of the time had already been rejected by the people, but it was kept in the saddle by Western credits. In the West you could even hear arguments for military intervention in Poland, because otherwise the credits would never be paid back. Present developments should be allowed to interfere with these debts. But if we did have to pay them back, it would mean that we would not emerge from the economic crisis for generations. The West cannot accept that, so I hope that there will be short-term help for us."

According to Geremek, Poland is not asking for charity. "It is in the interests of the West. Such a deep economic depression in the middle of Europe would represent an enormous economic danger to West Europe. It would bring the Third World to its very doorstep. It is also very dangerous politically, because if young democracies such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia suffer economic collapse, the democratic revolution in these countries would be compromised."

According to Geremek, there is no danger of a return to communism. "Communism is dead and gone. But it is possible that these countries could slide into another form of totalitarian regime. And that is not in Europe's interest."

According to Geremek, there are not only dangers that have to be averted, but also chances that have to be seized. "East Europe offers Western Europe enormous chances of dynamic development. In the short term we can provide cheap labor, and in the longer term goods and markets. This, because there will be a demand for almost everything that the West makes."

Geremek finds it more difficult when it comes to stating what his country can offer in the way of products. "We have raw materials, such as hard coal. We also have agricultural produce. While it is true that West Europe produces enough food, we have vegetables that you don't have. And we have fruit. But we also have enormous scope for tourism. The whole region between Suwalki and the Baltic coast: It is a beautiful region, but there is not a hotel or a restaurant to be found. Thus there is full scope there for Western capital." A little piqued, he added that hitherto Western capital has shown little interest in the possibilities in his country.

Geremek is very keen to establish ties with West Europe. The people from the West are well disposed toward us; they have given us constant moral and material support in the past few months. But we have not had very much material support from governments. What we need now is a strategy from the Western governments, a strategy which offers us chances. We think that the right to associate ourselves with the European Community [EC], as formulated by Delors, is sensible and offers us prospects. We hope that association with the EC will give us the stimulus we need."

According to Geremek, support for Poland and the other East European democracies must not only be sought in the economic field. "That is of course the method which West Europe has followed in its own integration, but why should we not travel other paths? Why not begin with education, with the mutual recognition of each other's diplomas, with the establishment of a European University in Central Europe? What is the West waiting for? It almost seems as if the habit of making five-year plans is now being carried on in the West. Now is the time."

March Economic Performance Reviewed

AU1304195090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 10 Apr 90 p 1

[Andrzej Leszczynski report: "The Economy Is Still in the Doldrums"]

[Text] Sold industrial output for the first three months of this year was 30 percent lower compared to the first quarter of last year. This can be interpreted as signifying economic recession. March has seen neither a deterioration nor an improvement. Even if output rose by 0.4 percent in relation to January with the number of man hours worked being comparable, the increase still falls within the margin of statistical error. However, it has to be borne in mind that faced with a demand ceiling in the domestic market, enterprises are eagerly seeking ways of selling goods abroad. Exports are on the increase. In terms of fixed prices, the increase over February was one of 26 percent, with exports to the West growing by as much as 32 percent, and exports to East European countries rising by 18 percent. During the first three months of this year we exported 8 percent more to the West than a year ago and 0.4 percent less to the East. Exports are a life jacket for enterprises that cannot find customers in Poland, because of their prices.

On the other hand, there was something of a drop in imports from both payments areas. The drop in March was one of 3.2 percent compared to February, and the drop over the first quarter as a whole was one of 22.4 percent compared to a year ago (with imports form the East falling by about 25 percent and those from the West by about 20 percent). Does this mean that there is more room in the market for goods produced domestically?

What is undoubtedly of more importance is the fact that wages rose in March. Profit-sharing payments were the main reason for this. The average wage in the five basic sectors of the economy in March was, including profit-sharing payments, 966,400 zlotys, but with 252.5 thousand zlotys being for the so-called thirteenth and fourteenth wage payments. So, average wages in March, that is, wages including the profit-sharing component, rose by 34.5 percent, and by 9.5 percent if the profit-sharing element is not included.

Increased exports, falling imports, and higher wages are factors that allow one to conclude that the decline in output has leveled out at the 30-percent mark, although real income fell by 35 percent during the period in question.

Although the Main Office of Statistics will not actually issue the March price index for another couple of days, Jozef Zajchowski, deputy director of the office, believes that it will be below the projected 7-percent level. This was the basis on which the 35- percent decline in real income was calculated.

Construction sector production figures were about 20 percent lower than a year ago. Although the number of housing units completed and made available for occupancy was 50 percent up on February, the level for the quarter as a whole was 5 percent down on last year. It will be possible to write about agriculture more extensively once the results of the Farm Register are published, although mention should already be made of the fears that there will be a drop in the level of interest in livestock rearing.

So, it would appear that March has not made anything any clearer and has not had any kind of decisive impact. Nevertheless, although the official zloty is not losing any ground against the dollar, the shelves in our shops are not empty, and the monthly inflation rate is beginning to approximate the annual level for the developed countries of the West, the burden imposed by the cost of living is being keenly felt, especially by those who have lost their jobs, of which there are already more than 260,000. The main causes of the recession have not disappeared and neither have fears about the future of the economy, which is still in the doldrums.

Gdansk Official Views Solidarity Agenda

PM1704082590 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 23 Feb 90 p 19

[Interview with Bogdan Borusewicz, chairman of NSZZ Solidarity Gdansk Regional Board, by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC reporter Andrzej Zarebski in Gdansk on 14 February]

[Text] [Zarebski] To begin with, congratulations on your appointment. What do you see as the most important tasks in trade union work for the near future?

[Borusewicz] To prepare ourselves for working in the new economic system. To create new trade union services responsible for professional retraining of employees and creation of a new job vacancies information bank. We should also think about establishing our own labor exchange agency network. We have just a few months to prepare all this.

[Zarebski] During the Second Voivodship Delegates' Congress you recommended that the union assume the responsibility of paying unemployment benefits to those who have lost their jobs.

[Borusewicz] Indeed, although I realize that this would be a very complicated operation. I based my proposal on the Belgian model. There, union members can draw their benefit from the union funds, and the union's outlays are in turn refunded from the state budget. This simplifies the whole procedure and the unemployed can receive their money directly without any bureaucratic difficulties.

[Zarebski] The congress seemed to be dominated by the so-called "veterans." They were also elected to the Regional Board. Is the lack of new faces not an alarming phenomenon?

[Borusewicz] But there were some new people there. Let us not forget that the delegates were mostly people who run the Solidarity organizations in enterprises. I believe that the generation structure represented at the Congress was very advantageous. First of all, we are concerned about maintaining the union identity, and in the second place, we want experience. At the moment we have very competent and well-educated union administration personnel with considerable practical field experience. These are people who were around 30 years old in 1980 and are now nearly 40. The problem you have mentioned will only appear when the average age reaches 50 and no new faces emerge.

In any case, we are not only interested in the younger people. You can also see that there are too few women among us...

[Zarebski] You spoke about the need to reconcile union and political functions within Solidarity. Are there any plans for placing Solidarity in a position of political influence during and after the local government elections in the Gdansk region?

[Borusewicz] There are no such plans. The significance and the role of Solidarity depends not only on the intention of its activists but also on the external situation. If Poland becomes a democratic country, if a new middle class evolves, if a new stratum of capitalist owners emerges, then Solidarity's trade union brief will be reinforced. Until this happens, we cannot be a trade union in a traditional mold. Consequently, there is no such thing as a concrete blueprint for giving Solidarity a political role in the region. People who run Solidarity are taking a more pragmatic line.

[Zarebski] What is your attitude to Citizens' Committees?

[Borusewicz] The Gdansk committee owes its existence to our inspiration. However, it is being created from the bottom upward. We were against leaving the old structures intact precisely because they were created from the top downward, even if it was ourselves who created them. That was the requirement of the moment then. Today we have more time. Let me also add that here in Gdansk there are no conflicts between us over competence or personnel appointments.

[Zarebski] I did not find among the guests of the Congress such once very important Solidarity figures as Andrzej Gwiazda or Anna Walentynowicz. Does this mean that your paths have diverged definitively?

[Borusewicz] We should never insist that things are as they are "definitively." However, at the present time I see no possibility of these two paths converging—especially after Jurczyk has set up a new, separate union.

I admit that I am very pleased with the course the Congress took. We had plenty of experienced delegates there: people on whom we can rely. A very positive development was also apparent in the manner in which individual problems were approached and individual candidates interviewed, compared with our first delegates' congress in 1981. Today, we have mature people here with whom we can build a new reality.

Najder on Solidarity Citizens Committee Tasks

AU1204103490 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Zdzislaw Najder, head of the Solidarity Chairman's Citizens Committee, by Krzysztof Pilawski; place and date not given: "We Are Not the Central Committee Nor PRON"]

[Text] [Pilawski] You were appointed head of the "Solidarity" Chairman's Citizens Committee by Lech Walesa. What were the reasons for his decision?

[Najder] You have to ask Walesa.

[Pilawski] It is said that your nomination triggered off a conflict with deputy Henryk Wujec, the former de facto head of this committee.

[Najder] Wujec headed and still heads the secretariat of the committee. His powers have not been reduced.

[Pilawski] One deputy of the Citizens Parliamentary Club who is involved in the voivodship citizens committee has compared the structure that your committee heads to the former Central Committee. Is this an accurate description?

[Najder] No.

[Pilawski] Doesn't your committee direct all the other citizens committees?

[Najder] No.

[Pilawski] What exactly is your task then?

[Najder] In contrast to all other citizens committees which arose spontaneously we are here because Lech Walesa has appointed us. Our committee came into being to locate the opinion makers, people who represent important social circles, and the important sectors of public opinion. We form a sort of intellectual and political representation of Poland that has been mobilized to stimulate the growth of a civic society.

[Pilawski] You are constantly being accused of being yet another creation in a similar vein to the Non-Party Block for Cooperation with the Government [BBWR], the National Unity Front [FJN], or even the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. Additionally, you have your offices in the Sobanski Palace which suggests such a comparison.

[Najder] We cannot be held responsible for the notoriety that is associated with the building we occupy. The building was empty and had to be used. The accusations which you speak of have also surfaced within the Citizens Committee, among its old members. This point was the subject of a heated discussion during our meeting two Saturdays ago.

[Pilawski] That means there must be some truth in the accusation?

[Najder] Some people would like to see a more closed movement, others want to open it up. But it was never a totally closed body in the first place, and one can see this from its structure.

[Pilawski] During the meeting you refer to the representatives of various other parties who were adopted into the Citizens Committee. You yourself are quoted as having said that this recalls the FJN, or PRON.

[Najder] No. All I said was that this was an unfortunate approximation, but this does not mean that it actually is a FJN, or PRON. It is a matter of ensuring that the Citizens Committee becomes an anti-totalitaric. representation of independent social forces, something that PRON never was. We are united by something completely different. We are united by the idea of breaking up the former system and creating the structures of an independent and democratic Polish state.

[Pilawski] You have often said that you have no particular enemy and there are no political forces that might be a threat to you. Does it mean you are fighting an imaginary foe?

[Najder] We are not fighting with anyone. We merely want to educate public political opinion toward a democratic Poland. We are striving to broaden the plane on which political views can be exchanged. We readily admit the fact that political parties in Poland are in a very weak state, because formerly the political arena was

not available to them. We do not want to exclude any parties, we want to help them.

[Pilawski] In my opinion this only succeeds in delaying the process of democracy. After all is said and done the committee is built up around Lech Walesa, and Walesa is "Solidarity." It is impossible to resist the impression of one leading force with its satellite parties.

[Najder] There is no such regimentation. Nobody is accusing any party of anything, nor are we dictating to anybody. Some people are projecting a scenario where the citizens committees will become a steamroller and crush all trace of independent public debate. This is an exaggeration, but in order to dispel this misconception we have to open ourselves a bit more and invite all those who want to come in to talk to us.

[Pilawski] You have said that your greatest enemy is apathy. For many years and from this very same place I used to report on the debates held by PRON. During those years and for understandable reasons the ruling camp had no political rivals. It was then being said that the main enemy is apathy. In effect, previous election campaigns consisted of drumming up the highest turnout figures possible. You are now doing the very same thing and this is quite evident from your blatant election propaganda campaign that one sees in the television and hears on the radio.

[Najder] You put me in a difficult position. You represent a paper that is a continuation of a newspaper which stood for we all know what. For many years, your predecessors maintained that black was white and truth was a lie, and so on. They debased the words like independence, democracy, and social justice. Now you sit there and say that we are saying that our enemy is apathy and that nothing has changed. This is absurd. Those same words have now taken on completely different meanings. For years people were encouraged in activities that were a sham, while we, however, are now encouraging them to real political initiatives.

[Pilawski] In your opinion, what is the cause of this apathy?

[Najder] This apathy is the result of the previous system. The name for it is, acquired helplessness. People saw that their initiatives meant nothing. Further, this apathy is a result of political illiteracy; namely, people still do not realize how much local government can do. It is also a weariness brought about by the crisis and the bitter realization that the former nomenklatura is still doing all right.

[Pilawski] Your task is to create a new democratic order, but in the meantime Walesa has began to call for a real revolution along with decrees and tribunals to settle scores with the old guard.

[Najder] I do not think that bringing to justice those people who are responsible for the past necessarily conflicts with democracy. Walesa has not suggested that the decrees should be linked to the tribunals. Tribunals would be there to serve the process of economic transformation and not to lock anyone up.

[Pilawski] In one of your interviews you said that the date of the parliamentary elections is dependent on the turnout in the local elections and at the same time you said that the latter have no political character. Is this not a contradiction?

[Najder] It may appear to be contradictory. I do not make the date of the parliamentary elections dependent on the local election turnout. I said that the former was dependent on the result of the local elections. If these elections do not produce any great conflicts and good people, not rabble-rousers, are elected, then it will mean that we are almost ready to hold parliamentary elections.

[Pilawski] What conflicts are you thinking of?

[Najder] Conflicts within the citizens committees, conflicts between "Solidarity's" electoral list and the lists of other parties, and conflicts between "Solidarity" and the citizens movement in general. At this present moment it is not known how all the various and disparate forces will reach a modus vivendi and whether everything will pass without disturbances.

[Pilawski] When will the structure that you head lose its raison d'etre?

[Najder] That question has to be asked after the next parliamentary elections. It is too early to say.

[Pilawski] Does this mean that Walesa will again allow himself to be photographed with another chosen team?

[Najder] Given the fact that the right and left wings are still only just beginning to constitute themselves into political parties we hope to assist them by mobilizing the political scene. We have no intention of hindering their development.

Date for Elections to Sejm 'Probably' Mid-1991

LD1104013390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Fully democratic elections to the Sejm will most probably take place in the middle of next year, said [Sejm speaker] Mikolaj Kozakiewicz during a meeting with a U.S. congress delegation visiting our country.

Two New Deputies' Clubs Established

AU1104222190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7-8 Apr 90 p 3

[Jan Forowicz report: "New Groups"]

[Text] Two new deputies' clubs presented themselves at a news conference in the Sejm building on 6 April. They are: the Deputies Club of the Social-Democratic Union of the Polish Republic, and the Group of Christian Democrats of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club.

The club of the Social-Democratic Union, headed by Deputy W. Ziolkowska, describes itself as a body with positivist inclinations. It intends to concentrate mainly on economic issues. It shuns the traditions of communist party monopoly.

The 43 deputies belonging to this club are of the opinion that no new Sejm elections should be announced in the immediate future. Poland's political landscape is only just being formed, and in the economic sphere the country still requires numerous pro-reformist measures. Thus, early elections would not be constructive, they say.

The Group of Christian Democrats has three leaders—Deputies Michal Chotonski, Pawel Laczkowski, and Edward Rzepka. The list of founders bears 44 signatures. The Group possesses an internal parliamentary nature, and intends to act only inside parliament. It emphasizes very strongly the fact that it is part of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and that it wishes to consolidate the club. We read in the group's declaration that its members place it on the right-hand side of the parliamentary political stage, but at a distance from all extremist currents.

Peasant, National Movements To Campaign Together

LD1104020990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] The reborn Peasant Movement will stand for the first democratic local government elections in the post-war history of Poland together with the recently established National Movement, states a declaration signed by the chairman of the National Party, Stefan Jarzebski, and by the chairman of the Peasant Party Odrodzenie, Kazimierz Olesiak. Both parties intend to oppose the new monopoly being formed in Poland, which is replacing the old nomenklatura.

Movement of Free Radicals Created in Kracow

LD1404183390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] An opposition political party has been created in Cracow; it is called the Movement of Free Radicals [Ruch Wolnych Radykalow]. Its aim is the sovereignty of citizens before the state and the political and economic sovereignty of our country. The Movement of Free Radicals proposes a less onerous program for improving the economy and also protection for society against tax exploitation.

RSW Liquidation Commission Head on Press Future

AU1204085390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Drygalski, head of the RSW liquidation commission, by Marek Sobiecki; place and date not given: "RSW: Liquidation, and What Next?]

[Text] [Sobiecki] What does placing the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House [RSW] in a state of liquidation mean for readers? Will their favorite titles disappear from the kiosks?

[Drygalski] Of course not. One of the commission's main tasks is to prevent the RSW from becoming paralyzed or collapsing before it is broken up. This is why our first decision was to allow the heads of all the concern's organizational units to retain their powers.

[Sobiecki] What will happen next? Many teams of journalists are setting up cooperatives and do not want to work under any political banner. Meanwhile, all manner of political groupings—even those with the smallest of followings—want to be granted particular titles.

[Drygalski] That is true. At the very outset we found ourselves being subjected to a lot of pressure in the form of the expectations and demands voiced by groups of journalists, publishers, political groupings, ministries, and various organizational units whose property was at one time transferred to the RSW. So, we have to gather together all these demands and proposals, meet all those concerned, and listen to what experts have to say. We will then produce a plan for the break up and submit it to the government for approval. When will that happen? It is definitely not a question of days or weeks. It is true that we want to reduce the transition period to a minimum, but we also cannot act hastily. Besides, whatever the final outcome is, it definitely will not please everyone.

[Sobiecki] How do you intend to treat the claims of those who hold stock in the RSW? Will Kwasniewski have to ask Michnik for duplicating machines?

[Drygalski] That will not be necessary. It is true that the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic and others who have an interest will not be able to count on getting preferential treatment, but, at the same time, they do not have to fear that they will be deprived of the ability to pursue normal publishing activities. They will be able to, but—this is obvious—this will be in line with their real political influence, the scope of their activities, and so on.

[Sobiecki] So, the liquidation of the RSW will not mean the liquidation of the more or less opposition press and the political vetting of journalists?

[Drygalski] First, there will be no political vetting of journalists! Second, the aim of the liquidation of this press giant is not to shut anyone up, but to pave the way for the emergence of a genuine press market in Poland. Vetting will only be performed by the market. Publications that are edited badly or present political views that are unpopular in society will simply drop out. It will, and I would like to stress this once again, depend solely and entirely on the readers and not on the government.

[Sobiecki] The RSW kept a lot of nonprofitable titles going. Are they threatened with closure now? What does the future hold for the press and book clubs, which are also running at a loss?

[Drygalski] We will reach final decisions on nonprofitable titles once we have received recommendations from financial experts. Until then, we will retain the present system for financing them. I am not going to conceal the fact that we are counting on proposals being put forward by the groups concerned. As for the press and book clubs, I cannot imagine them being closed down. However, we have work out a system for financing their activities.

Council of Ministers Adopts Draft Laws

LD1004002290 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—The Council of Ministers adopted here today a draft law on veterans and other people who fell victim of the repressions in wartime and the post-war period.

Veterans' Benefits

Members of the post-war organizations fighting for independence and victims of Stalinist repressions will be included among persons entitled to veterans' benefits. On the other hand, functionaries of some special services in the years 1944-1956 who acted with cruelty and against the law are to be excluded from the group.

The draft envisages a possibility of granting veterans' benefits to persons who held the Polish citizenship during their activity but do not have it now.

Other Draft Laws

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law repealing the law on counteracting speculation because of a small danger of it today.

Adopted was a draft law changing the president's regulations on composition agreement proceedings which help avoid bankruptcy of an economic unit that has stopped to repay debts in result of exceptional conditions beyond its control. An agreement signed with creditors allows such an enterprise to survive due, for instance, to rescheduling debts, etc.

The Council of Ministers passed a regulation on the principles of remunerating directors of state-run enterprises.

The basic director's salary is to amount to 300 percent of the average wages in the five basic branches of economy in the last month of the previous quarter, excluding payments from an enterprise's profits (at present the average salary of an employee in the five basic branches of economy total 713,900 zloties).

Internal Affairs Ministry Holds Security Debate

LD1104014690 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—The Political Advisory Committee at the internal ministry held a meeting today chaired by General Czeslaw Kiszczak. The debate was attended by Undersecretary of State Krzysztof Kozlowski.

In connection with the package of laws on the Internal Ministry adopted by the Sejm this April 6, the committee members discussed tasks of a future office of state protection and familiarized themselves with the proposed criteria of employing functionaries for the service.

16 Apr Demonstrations Over Ex-King's Visa Denial

AU1604113090 Paris AFP in English 1115 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, April 16 (AFP)—Scuffles broke out between several hundred supporters of exiled King Mihai of Romania and anti-monarchists during a demonstration here Monday [16 April] over the government's refusal to let the king visit his homeland.

There were clashes near goverment headquarters and at the university, a couple of kilometres (a mile) away. Although in some places the groups were separated by police, the demonstrators traded insults and some came to blows.

"We don't want a monarchy," shouted one group, while their opponents took up the chant, "King Mihai with us". But both groups joined in unison to shout anti-communist slogans.

King Michael, who lives in Switzerland, had planned to spend Easter in Romania, which he fled more than 40 years ago. At the last minute, however, the government cancelled his visa.

Further on Demonstrations

AU1704105290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0825 GMT 17 Apr 90

["Political Life: Pro- and Anti-Monarchic Demonstrations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/4/1990—If the first Easter day passed quietly, without meetings or demonstrations, on Monday, at the call of the "Prorepublica Romania" Anti-Monarchic League, 200-250 people, according to witnesses' assessments, most of them elder people, gathered in Unirii Square of Bucharest at 1100 o'clock.

After unfolding their panels with slogans, the column of demonstrators headed for Universitatii Square with the declared intention of reaching the Government's Headquarters in Victoriei Square. They were chanting "we don't want a king," but most of their panels read: "monarchy stifles democracy," "we don't want to go back 50 years," "we no longer want monarchy, we want democracy." Some of the demonstrators stated to a ROMPRES reporter that they and the Anti-Monarchic League they represented were not against ex-king Michael's visit to Romania but were of the opinion that it should take place after the 20 May elections. Under no circumstances did they agree that Romania ever become a monarchy again.

From the moment it departed from Unirii Square the antimonarchic demonstrators were followed, on each side of the 1848 Boulevard, by an approximately equal number of citizens spontaneously gathered who declaring themselves independent demonstrated for monarchy. One panel read "communism falsified history and the truth about King Michael." They chanted "visa for the king" and "down with communism."

On their way to Victoriei Square verbal duels, some rather violent, took place between the two groups of demonstrators. On the way to Victoriei Square, several times the pro-monarchy demonstrators tried to stop the anti-monarchists, but without success although they even raised improvised barricades.

In Victoriei Square after more than one and a half hours the two groups of demonstrators were stopped by the police on grounds that the place was not included in the authorization for the demonstration obtained only by the Anti-Monarchic League. Noteworthy is the fact that the other group did not have any authorization in this respect.

Envoy to France Recalled After Criticizing Roman

AU1604141690 Paris AFP in English 1356 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Paris, April 16 (AFP)—The Romanian Ambassador to France has been recalled to Bucharest for consultations following criticisms he made against Prime Minister Petre Roman, informed sources here said Monday.

The ambassador, Alexandru Paleologu, said on French television last Thursday that Mr. Roman was "slightly young" and called into question the Romanian leader's "political maturity."

He suggested that Mr. Roman was perhaps not up to the difficult job of "running a complex government during a confused period".

Mr. Paleologu also said he was "stunned" by a statement made by interim president Ion Iliescu that 80 per cent of the Romanian population either supported communism or had communist associates.

Before flying out of Paris Monday, Mr. Paleologu said that his criticism of Mr. Roman was only aimed at "making certain official Romanian positions more acceptable for French public opinion".

Roman on Significance of Visit to Spain

AU1604175890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Report on statements by Premier Petre Roman before departing for Spain on 16 April; place not given]

[Text] This afternoon Prime Minister Petre Roman left for Spain on an official visit, at the invitation of Premier Felipe Gonzalez.

Before departure, the prime minister made statements to our radio station saying: The visit to Spain is a stage in the process of opening that Romania promoted and continues to promote in its foreign policy, a complete

opening before all the horizons of the world, which also has a particular significance in the context of the European [word indistinct] of our country. There is also a certain sensitivity involved; namely, the particular feelings of Romanians for Spain, feelings that can be witnessed on many occasions.

As far as concrete relations are involved, relations that Romania can establish with Spain, these are along the line of getting to know and utilizing Spain's experience, a country with great material values in the field of tourism, agriculture, light industry, and environmental protection. Meetings are planned with top representatives of industrial groups who are interested in direct cooperation with our country.

We hope that the visit will also make a contribution to strengthening direct ties between the parliaments of the two countries.

Spokesman on E. Europe, Rio Group Meeting

AU1204163490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1237 GMT 12 Apr 90

["Romania in the World—Bridges between Continents"—ROMPRES]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/4/1990—In Budapest the Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac will show what action has been taken to restore our country to European social-political civilization where it belongs not only geographically, but also historically in terms of political, economic and cultural links, deputy foreign affairs minister and the ministry's spokesman Romulus Neagu said in a statement to the press on Romania's participation in the meeting of East Europe and countries of the Group of Rio. He will also underline the unique character of the December 1989 revolution, the radical, irreversible truly revolutionary changes that were made, and the package of measures that have been taken.

Broad prospects open up for Romania's growing relations with all the countries of the world on a new, mutually advantageous basis, and among those countries Latin American ones to which Romanians have traditionally been linked by language, culture and civilization hold a place apart, Romulus Neagu added. This is emphasised by Romania's membership of the group of 77, of its Latin American subgroup, and by the good cooperation with these countries within other international fora. Although conceived as an unofficial dialogue, the meeting will no doubt outline vast areas of potential growing cooperation.

Foreign Minister Celac on Meeting

AU1304183290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1708 GMT 13 Apr 90

["Interviews—Statements; S. Celac: We Want to be Good neighbors"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—Romania is preparing a package of major constructive actions it will propose to the new Hungarian Government, stated Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac to ROMPRES. Our geography, history and geopolitical location oblige us to be good neighbours and we sincerely want to be good neighbours, he said in an interview he granted in Budapest at the end of the meeting of governments from Central and East European countries and of Latin American states that are members of the Rio Group.

In connection with this initiative Mr. Sergiu Celac showed that Romania welcomed it from the very beginning, expressing his belief that the proposals he forwarded clearly showed such a thing. He assessed the echo of the Romanian proposals as positive.

During the Budapest meeting, Sergiu Celac had an interview with his Mexican counterpart with whom he conducted "a substantive talk, actually a survey of bilateral relations and a brief exchange of opinions on international questions." Both sides showed their interest in taking significant steps toward improving and developing collaboration in spheres of mutual concern, including the stimulation of reciprocal investments.

Mr. Celac also said he had interviews with his counterparts from Brazil and Uruguay whom he invited to Romania, visits which are likely to be paid still this year.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Far East Tour

AU0604200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—On his return from a Far Eastern tour, Mircea Mitran, Romania's deputy minister of foreign affairs, told ROMPRES Agency that his was actually a mission that the Provisional National Unity Council had assigned to Romania's Foreign Ministry leadership in order to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea whose economic growth holds a big potential for cooperation. Moreover, it is a relevant example of where the market economy may lead to, an example worth considering by Romanian economists, by all citizens who take an interest in the development of the Romanian economy in the new conditions that the December revolution put in place.

Our collocutor also said that the Foreign Affairs Ministry had taken action to rid the Romanian foreign policy of arbitrary factors and adjust it to the people's interests and demands, promoting relations with all the states of the world on the basis of internationally accepted principles and of the Romanian state's obligations assumed in international documents. We pursue to expand our contacts with all the states that we have been working with, and to establish relations with others that we have not until now Mircea Mitran said.

In answer to a question about other contacts in the area, the Romanian deputy minister said that en route to

Seoul he stopped in Tokyo where he held talks with Foreign Affairs Ministry executives, the leadership of the Employers' Organization—Keidanren [spelling as received]—and of the Ministry of International Commerce and Industry. Their aim was to given a fair and objective picture of the Romanian scene, with special emphasis on the industries—and the economic areas more generally—that hold an export-import potential for the Japanese economy and for investment.

On my way back from Seoul, the deputy minister said, I stopped briefly in Beijing where I discussed with executives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the People's Republic of China and told them what the post-revolutionary Romanian society was like. We sounded the possibilities for the further development of our relations, especially in the economy, but also in other spheres of mutual interest, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in disregard of our political differences.

The talks helped a better mutual knowledge and understanding, and the identification of the ways to expand the bilateral relations.

Greek Foreign Minister Cited on Ties

AU1304161890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1044 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—The reforms wrought in Romania a country with traditional friendly ties with Greece were highly appreciated from the very beginning by us and we were happy to be among the first countries to have recognised the National Salvation Front, said Greek Foreign Minister Yeoryios Papoulias in an interview with the LUMEA AZI review's special envoy in Athens. The Greek people cherish deep feelings of friendship and true admiration for the Romanian people and that will help us extend the collaboration between our governments in domains where possibilities do exist. Greece wants to help Romania become a flourishing democracy. During my predecessor Mr.Samaras' official visit in Bucharest support and political aid for the cause of democracy in Romania were reasserted. We once again state our readiness to assist Romania and cooperate with it in the EEC.

We know that the Romanian Government is ready to open dialogue on all questions concerning our two countries, and even on questions that the ex-regime refused to examine. I am convinced that we will act for the revitalization of the political and economic dialogue. I am looking forward to the development of extremely good bilateral relations between our two countries, the Greek Foreign Minister added.

Iliescu, Roman on Elections, Economic Transition

AU1504173590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Apr 90 pp 1,3

[Ion Stoica article: "News Conference"]

[Text] On Sunday, 8 April, at 1600, a news conference was held at the Victoria Square Palace, during which Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], and Prime Minister Petre Roman answered questions from Romanian and foreign journalists. We will now present some of the answers.

— The Timisoara Proclamation is a document that includes many positive and common elements of the 22 December 1989 Platform of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. It also incorporates some aspects affected by the atmosphere of the current political confrontation, among them formulations that have nothing in common with the way the problem of renewal in Romania is tackled. The same holds true for the right to be elected and to elect. There are approximately four million former party members and another four million make up their families. To this we have to add some three million members of the Union of Communist Youth. How can we exclude such a number of people from the political activity? This is absurd.

— We hold two positions. As far as I am concerned, I am president of the NSF Steering Collegium, which I have never denied because we are the founders of the front. I am also president of the PNUC, fulfilling the function of head of state. Thus I am in a position to divide myself into two....

— Bessarabia is not—as a foreign journalist put it—the GDR of Romania. The situation is completely different. No one denies that there are Romanians living in Bessarabia. As a state structure, it is a republic belonging to the Soviet Union. We have not raised any problem in connection with that territory and we believe it is not wise to do so now.

— There are 63 parties (actually more than 70—editorial note) in Romania at this time. It is difficult to distinguish between the platforms of some of them. The NSF is a center leftist organization. The leftist front is not united. Its existence does not disturb us. We have a well-profiled rightist movement, including extremist elements. We hope to get rid of the latter, because extremist elements were unable to strike roots in Romania.

— There is a proximity between the NSF and social-democratic principles. We do not identify ourselves with them, but there are elements that bring us close. We have initiated contacts and our aim is to get closer.

— Mr. Dan Petrescu's statements in Budapest have been repudiated by the culture minister. This is not all we need to know to take measures against him. We have to know the exact content of his statements. We believe we should not hasten to take appropriate measures.

— As far as a future government coalition is concerned, we shall see. From the very beginning we said that we do not pursue a monopoly on power. I think the political parties were too hasty when they said that they refuse a coalition with the NSF. With whom we

will cooperate will depend on the potential of the political formations we have in mind. It is difficult to predict who will win.

— The king's visit has nothing to do with the return of the monarchy to Romania. This time is over. Romania is a republic. Certainly, the future parliament will formulate the new Constitution and that will stipulate the future form of state. As far as options are concerned, I have not heard any political formation aspire to a monarchy. However, it seems that there are two very small parties which promote such an idea.

— The option for a market-oriented economy is explained by a realistic approach to some facts and objective requirements. Ignoring objective laws and thinking that they can be replaced by legal dispositions has been a great mistake. Our option means Romania's integration into the world economic activity.

— In connection with the problem of switching over to a market economy, there are neighboring countries with experience in this respect: Yugoslavia and Hungary. The Soviet Union has tried and continues to do so. Then there is Czechoslovakia and Poland. Each of them has its own problems and difficulties. Their experience has to be studied to avoid mistakes and take only what is positive for us.

— Luckily we have no foreign debts. We will have to resort to credits, but we will try to preserve a balance. If judicious action is taken and the most effective solutions are sought, foreign debts should not be viewed as an exclusively negative thing. The United States has huge debts and is doing very well. We have to resort to credits only after the situation has been studied thoroughly. In this respect, we have to admit that we have interesting and advantageous offers for both sides in some areas in which we consider a retechnologization.

— In connection with the capital deposited by the dictatorship in foreign banks, the Romanian Government has taken steps and has approached specialized foreign companies to conduct negotiations together with and on behalf of our state in this respect. We are not talking only of Switzerland, but about a larger sphere. This action is being handled well and cannot be left without a response, especially since this problem was also raised in the act of indictment.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Election Observers

AU1204201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1738 GMT 12 Apr 90

["Official News—A Few Points on Foreign Observers to Elections"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/4/1990—At a news conference on Thursday, Romulus Neagu, deputy minister of foreign affairs and spokesman for this ministry, enlargerd on Romania's actions to fully meet all suggestions regarding the presence of foreign observers at elections showing that, following the decision of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], the PNUC president requested the UN secretary-general to send UN observers to the 20 May elections. The matter was also discussed twice by the Romanian foreign minister with the UN secretary-general in New York and in Namibia's capital Windhoek.

In his answer, the UN secretary-general specified that, in conformity with its competences and prerogatives, the United Nations could provide, in Romania's situation, consultations in the form of a number of experts apt to offer assistance in the juridical and technical aspects of organizing democratic elections. The details of this action are being set.

Likewise, during his visit to Bucharest, the U.S. secretary of state, James Baker, reasserted his suggestion for inviting CSCE observers to the elections in Romania. Subsequently, the Romanian foreign minister stated that "Romania would welcome the presence at elections of observers from the 34 CSCE states." Such a statement was well received by the European diplomatic chancellories as well as in Washington and Ottawa, several countries expressing their interest in sending observers.

During the visit of the chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and of its general secretary to Romania, the participation of that council 's observers in the electins was also discussed.

These days the Romanian side sent letters whereby observers are invited to the 20 May elections from international organizations like the Council of Europe, the European Parliament of the European Economic Committee and the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Furthermore, through verbal notes of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent to the respective countries' embassies invitations were addressed to all the states participant in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to send observers whose number is to be established by each country.

The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry also underlined that the invitation of observers to elections was seen as a unilateral action whereby Romania, by virtue of its sovereign prerogatives, decides to submit its electoral process and the elections it organizes to the observance of other countries or international organizations. He showed that, through such an act, Romania would make a notable contribution to growing confidence on the continent, to promoting human rights and building up a new European edifice.

The Romanian side has taken every measure for the foreign observers to be provided with all facilities for a smooth run of their activity the observers can be present troughout the election campaign till the end of elections.

Under the Central Electoral Bureau, a foreign relations and protocol collectivity was set up that includes representatives of institutions across the country, who can assist the observers in their activity. The collectivity will assign correspondents in all constituencies in the country. The headquarters of the Central Electoral

Bureau wherefrom those who are interested can receive some pieces of information is: "Central Electoral Bureau, Str. Onesti, Intrarea B, Bucharest, Romania, Telephone Number 15-04-91, Telex 11983 BCER."

The aid the observers want to receive from the Central Electoral Bureau (interpreters, accommodation, transport, meeting facilities, etc.) will be given only upon request and according to the existing material possibilities, with expenses to be covered by the observers.

An information centre will also function under the Central Electoral Bureau.

To benefit by the status of observer, the persons who will represent non-governmental organizations or will take part individually are requested to have letters of recommendation from the respective organizations or from their countries' diplomatic offices.

The observers shall carry on their activity by observing Romania's domestic laws and regulations. The observers shall take a neutral attitude and shall not interfere in the electoral process. Their presence shall aim at obtaining information and opinions, during the interviews they are to have with political leaders and candidates for elections included.

The ways in which the observars will acquaintance their governments or public opinion with their conclusions are up to them.

If they want, at the end of their mission, the observers can organize news conference and can request interveiws with the Romanian authorities.

According to international practice, the observers shall cover the expenses derived from their presence at elections as a measure of guaranteeing their independence, the Romanian dignitary said in conclusion.

Need for Active Involvement in Democracy Urged

AU1004083490 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 1 Apr 90 p 2

[Paul Dobrescu article: "Passivity and Involvement"]

[Excerpts] The edifice of democracy is not a sentimental construction or the fruit of inspiration at a given time. Neither is it the desire of certain social groups. The institutions and the requirements that govern their operation constitute, I should say, an organic balance because they meet the organic requirements for a normal functioning of society in general. I do not think that nowadays one could talk about a democratic society without, for instance, parties, the separation of powers, and a free press. [passage omitted]

There are vital bodies and structures in a modern society which have to function in the interest of the state and its citizens. Marking profound changes in the society's values and aspirations, the revolution entailed changes in the substance of some structures, including those for the defense of the state and citizens. The fact that some departments supported the former regime led to justified protests and demands by the people that certain representatives of those bodies be punished. [passage omitted]

There are, however, other departments which do not work for political aims, but which ensure the protection and defense of the national assets in general.

Several positions adopted in connection with the events in Tirgu Mures justifiably criticized the failure of the relevant bodies to intervene in time to prevent the escalation of violence. We recall the same passivity a short time ago after the devastation of the Government headquarters in Victory Square. Developments in Tirgu Mures made us realize that the government had no clear idea about events and that the action taken did not match the complicated situation. There was criticism that the mass media did not report effectively and correctly. The basic problem is how the Romanian Government's own specialized media reacted. [passage omitted] It is important how promptly the media reported the event, not when it had reached its climax, but when it started developing in a direction not wanted by anyone; the mass media should have permitted the public to be more thoroughly, more comprehensively, and more promptly informed about events. [passage omitted]

Partial knowledge may lead to unilateral and even improvised solutions and will therefore not make it easier to turn things in the right and stable direction that would benefit the country.

Let us not forget that democracy will take exactly the form we establish and build. If we establish durable structures, they will ensure stability while improvisation will take its revenge in accordance with the law of the boomerang in order to punish superficiality.

NSF Daily on NPPCD Leaders' 'Nebulous' Past

AU1204192590

[Editorial Report] Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 1-7 April, under the headline "Who are the Leaders of the National Peasants Party-Christian Democratic [NPPCD]," carries, almost on a daily basis, various articles, either unattributed or signed by a certain Iza Bogdan, purporting to disclose the "nebulous" past of some of the current NPPCD leaders. Thus, the National Salvation Front's [NSF] daily on 1 April carries on page 2 a 300-word unsigned article accusing NPPCD Vice President Ion Puiu of having been a "member of the Iron Guards" during the World War II period. As proof of this, the paper publishes a facsimile of a 2 August 1941 police record of Puiu's arrest for "wearing a green shirt," the Iron Guards' uniform. The same daily, on 5 April page 5, carries a 1,000-word Iza Bogdan article, "An Exciting Biography of 'The Holy Iron-Guardist Youth' of Mr Ion Puiu," providing further details of Puiu's fascist past. DIMINEATA on 4 April publishes on page 4 a facsimile of a letter by NPPCD Vice President Ioan

Diaconescu proving that he was a Securitate Informer. In a 800-word article in DIMINEATA of 6 April page 5, Iza Bogdan comments on Diaconescu's letter of 19 May 1986 in which he reports to the Securitate Bodies on his meetings with several former NPPCD dignitaries. That article also mentions in passing that even NPPCD leader Corneliu Coposu had also "informed on the others," to the Securitate bodies.

Radu Campeanu on Moldova's Vote

AU0904194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 9 Apr 90

["Electoral Campaign: Whom Will Moldova Vote?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/4/1990—On ending his visit to Bacau, Neamt and Suceava Counties, his first visit in the current electoral campaign, Mr. Radu Campeanu, PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] vice-president, president of the National Liberal Party and candidate for Romania's presidency, stated: I had been told that Moldova was entirely with the NSF [National Salvation Front]. This proved an erroneous opinion. I have quite a contrary impression.

Iliescu Campaigns in Satu Mare, Negresti-Oas

AU1304152090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1049 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—The chairman of the PNUC and of the National Salvation Front Ion Iliescu continued his electoral tour in Satu Mare County (North-Western Romania). A first rally was held at Negresti-Oas with the electorate. Mr. Iliescu also held talks with members of the local Provisional National Unity Council.

Ratiu's Candidacy Supported by Five Parties

AU1704111490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0832 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/4/1990—Mr. Ion Ratiu, who will run in the 20 May elections for Romania's presidency, met with representatives of the Romanian press and foreign correspondents accredited to our country.

On this occasion, Mr. Ion Ratiu highlighted that he would work for a real democracy in Romania, for the achievement of national reconciliation rid of vengeances. He stated for the privatization of the economy as soon as possible, for the employees' becoming share holders and for the peasants' turning into landowners with full rights. The journalists were handed over a text which shows among other things that Mr. Ratiu "has got his own resources for the ensurance of independence," that he is a "skillful businessman" who "came to Romania to use his own ability to the benefit of the country and not for his own profit."

Another four parties—the Romanian National Party, the Christian and Democratic Union, the Romanian Peasant Party and the Republican Union—alongside the Romanian National Christian Democratic [Peasants] Party support the candidacy of Mr. Ratiu.

Agrarian Democratic Party Set Up in Bucharest

AU1304152190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—The proceedings of the National Convention of the Agrarian Democratic Party were held in Bucharest during 11-12 April.

A 115-member Steering Council has been elected that nominated the 29 members of its Executive Bureau. Victor Surdum has been elected chairman of the Council.

The first issue of the party's weekly TARA has been also put out.

The Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania will support Ion Iliescu as candidate for Romania's presidency.

Platform of Christian Republic Party Issued

AU1704112490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1048 GMT 17 Apr 90

["Political Parties: The Christian Republican Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/4/1990—The Christian Republican Party of Romania, which nominated its chairman Gheorghe Popilean as candidate for Romania's presidency, considers that God created man to enjoy all the assets of this world and that God should be glorified by his life. God means love, unity, not hatred and feud.

The programme-platform stipulates the establishment of freedom and the country's reconstruction, on political and democratic pluralism guaranteed by free elections, the building of a flourishing Romania, the development of a Christian society that should promote professionalism.

The Christian Republican Party upholds respect for ethnic minorities' rights, the ensurance of equal rights with all Romanian citizens, the guaranteeing and observance of the inviolability of private property and of women's and family's dignity, the organization of free trade unions and the employees' right to strike.

The party is for economic decentralization and private initiative, for advantageous credits, the encouragement and liberalization of home and foreign investments. As for agriculture, the Christian Republican Party is for land allotment to peasants and low-interest credits.

NLP Official on Ex-Nomenklatura in T. Mures

LD0604213590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Interview with Sorin Botez, National Liberal Party secretary in charge of foreign affairs, by unidentified reporter on 6 April; place not given—recorded; Botez, in Romanian, with superimposed translation into Hungarian]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] At today's news conference you alleged that the organizers of these extremist incidents [in Tirgu Mures] are conceivably financed and directed from abroad, and you also said that it is the nomenclatura left over from the Ceausescu regime that has most to do with the incidents. Who do you have in mind, and who is financing these people?

[Botez] What I meant, more precisely, was that the persons linked to the structures of the former Communist state power quite understandably judge their fate as being, to the fullest degree, uncertain. And in order to divert the attention of public opinion from the concrete and real problems of the construction of democracy, they turn to such painful diversions as these—in order to divert the anger, to divert the passions of public opinion in a direction, in a completely false direction, and not the real one: to divert them from the real targets.

[Reporter] In Transylvania there were naturally Romanian and Hungarian Communists, and Romanian and Hungarian Securitate as well. Therefore, Mr. Botez is of the view that both could have had an interest in carrying out this diversion.

Are the aforementioned people relying—and have they been relying, or will they in the future be relying—merely on their own strength, or are they really getting financial or moral support from abroad? And if so, from where?

[Botez] I cannot know this. For that very reason I cannot give an unequivocal answer to this. At any event I would like to state that the internal resources, those within the country, are sufficiently rich. For as a matter of fact, the enormous party assets in Romania have simply vanished without trace. But naturally there could be foreign interests as well that strive for the same thing—in other words, that are aimed at maintaining the old Communist structures.

[Reporter] This line of thought could take us quite far, and in any event beyond the borders of Romania. I do not know whether you are thinking of neighboring countries: perhaps the men of the failed Communist system, who are already threatened in their livelihood, or the still existing Communist regimes?

[Botez] Without possessing concrete proof, I am thinking of all the possibilities you mentioned, one at a time. [passage omitted]

Deputy Claims Hungarian Intervention in T. Mures

LD1204220690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] A Romanian deputy foreign minister has reiterated Bucharest's accusation that the events in Tirgu Mures at the end of March would not have degenerated if there had been no Hungarian intervention. According to the official, it was not mere coincidence that 10,000 Hungarian citizens arrived in Romania at that time. The Romanian deputy foreign minister said, and we quote: An internationally financed mafia played a role. He did not provide details, substantive facts, and information to his accusation. When replying to questions at the international news conference, he said that Romania is preparing an 18-point plan; one of the points proposes that a joint nationality declaration be drafted. Bucharest would like to review and settle its problems with representatives of the new Hungarian government which is being formed, the Romanian deputy foreign minister pointed out.

AZI on Hungarian 'Colonization' of Transylvania

AU1304162890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1207 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—"There are more Romanians in the countries bordering on Romania than there are ethnic minorities in Romania: around 4.5 million. No other European country has so large a number of conationals living in neighbouring countries" says Dr. Ion Coja in an article on "the minorities question" in the first issue of the NSF [National Salvation Front] daily AZI (TODAY).

In other words, says the author, Romania is the European country that could best claim a revision of its borders. And yet, Romania is in the position of having its borders contested.

"The question of ethnic minorities in Romania cannot be discussed and solved in disregard of the status of Romanians in neighbouring countries. A thus-accepted reciprocity is a concession on the part of Romanians, the most numerous people in this part of Europe".

On the Hungarian minority in Romania, the author says that this is the result of the 19th and 20th century policy of Hungarian colonization of Transylvania. "The last time when Romania was colonized with Hungarians was immediately after the second world war when the Dr. Petru Groza Government accepted the settlement in Translyvania of 200,000 Hungarians driven out of Yugoslavia for their crimes during the Hortyist occupation of Vojvodina.

"The Horthyist occupation years cannot be regarded as a closed chapter, says the author, as long as the Hungarians and the Hungarian state do not make an official public statement on the crimes perpetrated at that time. Otherwise, so as Israel and Poland have called to this day on

Germans to account and pay for their abuses and crimes in the early '40s, so should we ask Hungary to pay reparations and compensate for the evils perpetrated by Horthyist troops under German protection. The crime of genocide is imprescriptible, and what the Hungarians did in Northern Transylvania is called genocide, says the author.

DUHR Rejects AZI Article on Minorities

AU1404151690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0847 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/4/1990—In a statement sent to ROMPRES agency, the Provisional Executive Committee of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, DUHR, rejects the content of Dr. Ion Coja's article on "the minorities question" in the 11 April issue of newspaper "AZI" which, it says, struck the Hungarian population in Romania with dismay. The article sharply contradicts the NSF [National Salvation Front] declaration on the rights of the minorities of 5 January 1990, the statement shows.

The DUHR Provisional Executive Committee ends by demanding the National Salvation Front, clearly to state its position: If the author's opinions do not reflect the NSF stance, the NSF should publicly dissociate itself from them.

Otherwise, the statement says, we will draw all the conclusions regarding the credit worthiness and moral authority of the NSF's previous statements on the minorities question, and on the possibility for future political cooperation between NSF and DUHR, the statement says.

Democratic Magyar Alliance Publishes Statutes

LD1604004790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 15 Apr 90

[Text] The Democratic Alliance of Magyars of Romania published the statutes of the organization.

The Democratic Alliance of Magyars of Romania wishes to accomplish its goals within the framework of sovereign, independent, and united Romania. The statutes of the organization were published in several Hungarian language papers in Romania. The organization wishes to maintain links with the entirety of the Hungarian nation and the countries signing the Helsinki Final Act as well.

According to the document, it will be decided at the congress of Oradea next week whether the center of the organization should be Cluj, Tirgu Mures, or the present headquarters, Bucharest. The statutes emphasize that the interest protection organ of the Magyarhood of Romania is organized on the basis of regions. Congress will be held every two years, where the composition of the 35-member national board and the 15-member Presidium will be determined.

Covasna PNUC President Urged To Be Impartial

AU1004183690 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 1 Apr 90 p 1

[C.D. Duica article: "What Is Happening in Tirgu Secuiesc?"]

[Text] We would not like to be told that we are continuing to poke in the ashes of a dead fire, trying to find the spark that can renew old conflicts. However, we received a desperate telephone call from Tirgu Secuiesc, and we were told that the Orthodox Priest Ion Bercu had been threatened, and had run away from home, while the Archpriest Aurel Suciu has slept at some friends' house for a few nights.

We ask Mr. Arpad Orban, the president of the Covasna County Provisional National Unity Council, whether he knows about these things and what has he done to settle such conflicts? The fact that he does not want to cooperate with the National Unity Front in that county is his option. However, because he accepted the task of leading the destinies of people, his duty is to be impartial. Increased rights for the Hungarians cannot be obtained through the Magyarization of Romanians in that county. This is even more so, since on television he described a totally different situation. We suggest a nice gesture: that he solve the paper shortage problems of the CUVINTUL NOU newspaper. Is this possible, Mr. Orban?

Andruta Ceausescu Trial Adjourned Until 26 Apr

AU0604194590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Law: First Part of the Trial of Ex-General N.A. Ceausescu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—The first part of the judicial action brought against the ex-militia General Ceausescu Andruta Nicolae has ended at the Military Department of the Higher Court of Justice.

The Friday 6 April session began with the defendant's interrogation to supplement his statements. In consideration of the testimonies made by witnesses in court concerning the charges in the indictment—instigation to unfulfilled genocide, aggravated murder and attempted murder—the higher court of justice asked the accused to speak about them. The defendant took the same position, denying all the charges on which was brought in court, saying the charges are a frame-up.

During the session, the counsel for the defence complained of the measures against the defendant's property requesting that they be dropped and the family be reinstated to the sequestrated property.

Upon deliberations, the court partly upheld the complaint, maintaining the sequester only on 632,000 lei in personal bank savings.

The court gave the floor to the parties to formulate the evidence, all the proposals of both the defence and the

prosecution being unheld. It also ordered more proofs besides those requested by the counsel for the defence and the prosecutor.

The case was adjourned for 26 April.

Brucan Brought to Trial for Public Slander

AU1604185790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 11 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Amelia Neacsu article: "Mr. Silviu Brucan Brought To Trial for Slandering the Whole Nation"]

[Text] The trial of Mr. Brucan for malicious slander began on Monday 9 April 1990. Mr. Octavian Radulescu and Mr. Ion Fluieras were the initiators of this action.

The legal action is founded on the following complaints:

Facts: In an interview granted to a newspaper with a great circulation, THE INDEPENDENT, on 14 January 1990, Silviu Brucan seriously slandered both us and our Romanian brothers, by exhibiting an elitist theory, which has aspects identical with the Aryan theory which is associated in history with the name of Adolf Hitler. The documents that we provide will give evidence without any doubt that Silviu Brucan slandered us and seriously damaged our honor and the honor of our whole people.

Legal action: We base our actions on the decrees included in Article No. 206 of the penal code. In proving the current direct legal action, we allow ourselves to make use of all the acceptable proofs for this case.

We demand civil compensation and reimbursement of legal charges.

From the discussions held in court, it is not clear whether this trial belongs to the criminal or to the civil court.

Considering the fact that Mr. Brucan did not appear before the conciliation commission, in accordance with Article No.95, the trial continues.

In accordance with Article No. 206 in the penal code, in case of slander, by using various public means, we request that proceedings of the legal trial be followed and a new term should be granted, so that the defendant can be legally summoned.

If the trial is passed to the civil court, the claimants decided to immediately attack such a decision.

Four Timisoara Defendants' Trial Opens 14 Apr

AU1404140290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] On the basis of the Timisoara public prosecutor's charge, defendants Ion Coman, Ilie Matei, Cornel Pacoste, and Radu Balan were brought to trial today after having been arrested for committing the crime of genocide. They will be tried and punished in accordance with Article 357, paragraph 1, items A and B of the Penal Code.

What has essentially been established is that—in order to carry out the criminal orders of the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife—from 16-20 December 1989 the defendants—through concrete actions taken by each of them—organized, coordinated, and led the effective and brutal repression—by using weapons—on demonstrators who participated in the people's revolt in Timisoara.

As a result, numerous citizens, who rose to struggle for freedom, democracy, and dignity, to put an end to oppression, and to eliminate the dictatorship, were mistreated, injured or killed..

Through the indictment, the Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice has been put in charge, as the competent authority to try the defendants in accordance with the law.

'First Direct Murder Charge' in Timisoara Trial

AU1404144890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0916 GMT 14 Apr 90

["Law: First Direct Murder Charge in the Timisoara Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/4/1990—As part of the trial of the 21 defendants in Romania's western city of Timisoara charged with genocide and their part in the crime of genocide, a related case is being judged, that of ex-Major Iosif Veverca of the Timis County Militia's Judiciary Office, who is in custody charged with having taken part in the smuggling of 40 corpses from the mortuary of the county hospital and eventually taking them to the Bucharest crematory. The evidence accuses Veverca of qualified murder as he discharged his submachine gun into a group of young revolutionaries on 18 December. The indictment shows that, having reached the county hospital area with his men, the accused fired his own submachine gun twice on a group of young people.

One of them aged 17-18 died on the spot, as others were taken in custody to the Militia Office.

Securitate Whereabouts After Revolution Questioned

AU1604182490 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 11 Apr 90 p 2

[Ion Armasu article: "Where Are the Terrorists?"]

[Text] Here is again the subject that disturbs our conscience. We know that more than 800 people involved in the counterrevolutionary fight have been arrested. However, certain military experts estimate that just in Bucharest, a few thousand terrorists fought against the people and the Army. Another few thousand terrorists tried to suppress the revolution in the provinces.

Where are they? Have they left the country? It seems that they have not! They are among us! Yes, the terrorists are here among us! It is frightening, but true! Who is in charge of finding them? Has any progress been made in this direction? What has become of the secret houses?

From whom do we have to protect ourselves? To whom were subordinated those who fired at the people and the Army? Who led them? Who trained, guided, and paid them? Why, during the fighting, did the terrorists not fire at the headquarters of the former Securitate and Militia?

Is it accidental that the more than 300 terrorists in Sibiu were Securitate and Militia cadres? Is it accidental that in Brasov, lists with the names of terrorists who had been arrested by the Army and handed over to the police do not match the lists with names of those who are currently under police surveillance? Is it accidental that in Timisoara, some of those who were caught firing at people and soldiers and who were handed over to the military tribunal, have been seen walking on the street? Is it accidental that a part of those 21 people who are under trial in that town, when it comes to the question of who fired at the people, point at the Army? To what institution belong those engaged in eliminating the traces of genocide in our first martyr town? Who was interested in burning the cadavers?

These are not purely rhetorical questions. We are worried by the presence of so many murderers moving freely. And we are mainly worried by the fact that the criminal actions during the revolution were institutionalized, organized, and carried out according to a well worked out plan. What are our guarantees that things will not be repeated? For our own tranquility, it is high time to receive at least a part of the answers to all these questions.

Former Political Detainee Sues Government

AU1104085190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Apr 90 p 1

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article: "Proceedings Brought Against the Government"]

[Text] Mr. Octav Radulescu, member of the Association of Former Political Detainees, informed us yesterday that on 10 April at 1100 [0800 GMT] the proceedings he has brought against Messrs. Ion Iliescu, Petre Roman, Cazimir Ionescu, and Gelu Voican-Voiculescu for instigating violence will begin. "On 28 January," he said, "I was beaten up until I vomited blood; then I was hit with chains and metal bolts. At the time I did not know who the attackers were or who had instigated them. Now I do know. In the action I have taken I have resorted to the Penal Code on the basis of which the real instigators of the 28 January violence should be prevented from voting or being elected. I demand that they be dismissed from the positions they now hold. Specialists in violence should not lead a state, they are not wanted at the helm of the country. I take this opportunity to say that there is proof that even what happened in Tirgu Mures was a typical NSF [National Salvation Front] maneuver. The students have relevant cassettes in this respect. Generally speaking, what is happening now closely resembles the events of 1946. The Securitate exists; it follows us. Its members entered my house. They did not steal anything, but they took my documents on the Communist Party and political detainees." (Sorin Rosca-Stanescu)

Detainee's Lawsuit Against Government Rejected

AU1504185790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Apr 90 p 1

[Roxana Iordache article: "A Lawsuit Rejected for the Time Being"]

[Excerpts] As reported in our paper of 3 April, 1100, Tuesday, 10 April, was to have marked the beginning of the lawsuit brought by Mr. Octav Radulescu, member of the Association of Former Political Detainees, against Messrs. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], Petre Roman and Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, government members, for inciting violence on 28 January 1990 during which the claimant was molested. [passage omitted]

"In conformity with Article 36, item 1 of Law No. 57/1968, the judiciary commission decided to reject the case in view of the tardiness of the action taken. The claimant is entitled to lodge a complaint with the tribunal within 15 days of the pronouncement of the decision. Pronounced today, 10 April, within a public session, in the presence of the claimant."

After the pronouncement of the decision, Mr. Octav Radulescu approached the commission emphasizing that the decision lacked any grounds, taking into account that the lawsuit was not brought against the aggressors, but against the instigators, who (self)admitted this during the 14 March PNUC session (the complaint was lodged on 28 March) at which, in the presence of Mr. Dumitru Mazilu, they confirmed the organization (on 25 January 1990) of an anti-opposition (parties and independent individuals) counterdemonstration. [passage omitted]

The basic question addressed to the commission was how was it possible that the "defendants turning into claimants" had been familiar with the decision beforehand, because a member of the government had publicly stated in a televised news conference a day before—that is on Monday, 9 April—that the lawsuit had been rejected because it lacked any grounds and that within a year it may be followed by a counter-lawsuit for slandering such high-ranking dignitaries. Another question raised by the claimant is whether the gentlemen, against whom he had brought the proceedings, are the holders of both the executive and judiciary power? If so, they contradict the democratic principles in the middle of the election campaign. If not, then how come they knew about the decision before it was announced publicly?

Mr. Octav Radulescu has decided to lodge a complaint as provided for in the law and will let us know when so that we can keep the public posted.

Daily Calls 'Revolutionary' Common Criminal

AU1204183090

[Editorial Report] Bucharest, DIMINEATA in Romanian on 5 April carries on page 5 a 1,000-word article by Dinu Tudor entitled "A Professional Revolutionary," identifying the most vociferous protester at the 12 January 1990 demonstration in Bucharest—which led to the precipitous adoption of two decrees retracted later, including the decree on banning the Communist Party—as a certain "would be painter," Augustin Zbora, whose true name is Augustin Constantin Ciurei, "a common criminal with a long police record." According to the author, this "insolent individual," who likes to call himself a "professional revolutionary," is nothing more than an "anarchist," who is sought by the police.

PNUC Executive Bureau Call for Church Dialogue

AU0604194990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met Friday 6 April under the chairmanship of Ion Iliescu, PNUC president. Ministers and heads of central state organs took part as invited guests.

Several draft decrees-laws were considered and approved in the first part of the session, including those authorizing foreign trade societies and economic organizations to have offices and carry on an activity in Romania, on Romania's becoming a party to the agreement on the international satellite telecommunications organization "Intelsat", and on the text of the military oath.

In consideration of the tension that has built up in the relations between the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic communities as a result of the recent legalization of the Greek Catholic Church in Romania, the Executive Bureau launched an appeal to dialogue and conciliation, all while inviting representatives of the two churches to engage in a dialogue with the president and the vice-presidents of the PNUC Executive Bureau to discuss the various aspects apt to improve the relations between the members of the respective religious communities.

Mr. Ion Manzatu briefed the Executive Bureau about the activity of the Central Commission and the Joint Commission in Tirgu Mures showing the progress of the political dialogue and the date of investigation into the causes of the events on 19 and 20 March.

A report on the money donations for the Liberty 1989 Account was also analysed. The Executive Bureau set the prime targets on which that money should be spent and urged the drafting of a normative act in that respect.

Next, the Prosecutor-General Mr. Gheorghe Robu, read a report on the activity of the prosecutor's bodies over January-March. Speaking about the action to enforce the law, to restore confidence in this institution and the effort to build a state of law, he also referred to the investigation of the persons involved in the repression of the revolution and to their bringing in court. However, it was said that far more resolute action was needed to generally improve the activity of the prosecutor's bodies wherefore an executive bureau's commission was decided to be formed to take steps along that line.

It was agreed that the next PNUC session be postponed after Easter.

Bucharest Rally Calls for End to Censorship

AU0804172890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1611 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/4/1990—A meeting was called Sunday 8 April in Bucharest by several Romanian independent movements which urged an end to censorship, the abrogation of the law on the organization of radiotelevision, the dismantlement of current structures and the dismissal of the nomenklatura from the country's leadership, the opening of the economy to privatization.

Government Admonishes Deputy Culture Minister

AU0904202590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1909 GMT 9 Apr 90

["An Admonished Dignitary"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/4/1990—The government's Executive Bureau admonished Mr Dan Petrescu, deputy minister of culture, on statements that prove injurious to the good faith of the members and authorized representatives of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, reads a communique relayed to ROMPRES news agency after today's meeting of that body.

These statements run counter to the Romanian Government's stand on "Vatra Romaneasca," the Executive Bureau notes surprisedly.

Mr Petrescu made those statements to the Hungarian radio station during an unofficial visit to that country. The Romanian dignitary expressed the opinion that "Vatra Romaneasca" Union was a hysterical, chauvinistic organization lacking any political culture.

The Bucharest branch of the union protested against those statements made "in a capacity as unofficial person."

Increased Travel Requires 'Careful Border Checks'

AU1404150190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0914 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/4/1990—about one million passports were issued to Romanian citizens and more than 35,000 passports to Romanian residents abroad in the first quarter of this year, said Maj. Gen. Valeriu Rozoleanu, head of the general division for passports, border checks and foreigners' entries and exits.

The number of travelers abroad has risen by more than 600,000 from the same period last year, he added.

On border checks, Maj. Gen. Rozoleanu said the rising border traffic had brought with it more attempts to smuggle heritage items out of the country. There were also foreign citizens who attempted to bring into the country ammunition, arms, anti-Romanian propaganda material. Hence, the demand for careful border checks.

Miners' Conference on Founding Trade Unions

AU1104190390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1718 GMT 11 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/4/1990—The conference for the foundation of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions of Romania was held in Petrosani on 10 and 11 April attended by leaders of the miners' Trade Union Leagues in Jiu Valley, Oltenia, Maramures, and by delegates of Free Trade Union Organizations of Cluj, Prahova, Dobrogea, Moldova, numbering over 300,000 members.

The draft statute was approved which stresses that the Mining Trade Union Federation of Romania is a professional organization, set up on the basis of free adherence, is not subordinated to any political party and is totally independent from the state bodies.

As means of fight in defence of the miners' interests are petition, meeting, demonstration and strike.

The Standing Coordinating Committee and the Executive Bureau of the Federation, to be headquartered in Bucharest, were elected by secret ballot.

European Culture Center Founded in Bucharest

AU1204110290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0932 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/4/1990—The Bucharest European Centre of Culture was founded in Romania's capital city. The centre aims at researching and spreading European ideas in Romania and will contribute to make the Romanian culture well known all over the world. Some of the founding members are Horea Bernea, Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga, Ion Caramitru, Stefan Augustin Doinas, Al. Dutu, Th. Enescu, Dan Haulica, Nicolae Manolescu, Darie Novaceanu, Andrei Plesu, Marin Sorescu, Razvan Theodorescu, Gheorghe Robu, N. N. Constantinescu, Alexandru Bolintineanu, Mircea Malita.

Mr. Razvan Theodorescu, president of the centre, presented in his opening speech aspects from Romania's European past, making reference to the contribution brought by great Romanian personalities, such as Nicolae Titulescu, to the promotion of national culture in the European space and presenting representative Romanian works in dialogue with other cultures on the continent.

Pan-European Association of Intellectuals Set Up

AU1304165490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1209 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—The Pan-European Association of Intellectuals in Romania (APEIR) was set up in Bucharest. Among its founding members are Caius Iacob, a member of the Academy, Academics Gabriel Tepelea, Radu Vasile, Literary Historian Marin Bucur, Historian Radu Vlad, Researcher Rey Stefan, etc.

The Association aims to resume the links with great European centres, exchange materials and ideas, as well as documentation, and help specialization terms, scholarships and doctor's degrees for young people whose training should meet the world's highest standards.

Friendship League Formed With Arab World

AU1304145390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0822 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/04/1990—An initiative group of writers, teachers, academics, journalists, artists, physicians, economists and students founded the League of Friendship with the Arab World in Bucharest on 12 April.

A non-governmental association that has no political aims, the league will pursue to develop friendly relations between Romania and the Arab world through cultural and artistic events and exchanges with similar institutions and associations in Arab countries.

Association of Insurance Law Set Up in Bucharest

AU1304165290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1332 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/04/1990—Romania's Association of Insurance Law has been founded with its head office in Bucharest. A non-political independent organization, its aim is to promote research in law in general, in insurance law in particular.

The association plans to analyse the insurance acts in force in Romania as well as to get international recognition and take an active part in the Eighth World Congress of Insurance Law due in Copenhagen from 18 to 22 June, the Association's secretary, Marian Vasile said.

U.S. Friends Association Set Up

AU1304184890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1725 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/4/1990—In the presence of numerous men of science and letters, of members of the United States' Embassy in Bucharest a meeting was held in Bucharest on Friday when the Romanian-American Association "United States' Friends" was set up which, according to the statute adopted, is a non-governmental, independent, apolitical and non-lucrative organization, headquartered in Bucharest.

The new association which revives, on the Easter Eve, the activity of suchlike Romanian-American bodies, suspended during the dictatorship, sets to arise the interest for developing traditional, more than one-century old relations between Romania and the United States, between the two peoples. In that framework, the association has as essential goal the promotion of mutual knowledge of all the aspects of the civilization and culture of the two countries and peoples, the intensification of bilateral economic, scientific and cultural links, facilitating contacts and dialogue between persons and organisms concerned.

On the setting up of the association, Professor Mihnea Gheorghiu, Alan Green Jr., U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, and Professor Nicolae Cristescu, chairman of the "United States' Friends" Romanian-American Association, rector of the University of Bucharest, underlined the joint wish to cooperate efficiently for the translation into fact of the goals of the new association. The management board includes personalities of the Romanian culture and science, among whom Academician Nicolae Cajal, Mircea Malita, Marin Sorescu, Ethnographer Mihai Pop and others. Honorary members of the association are Mr. George Palade, Mr. Nicolae Georgescu Roegen and Mr. Mihnea Gheorghiu.

Demos Opposition Wins Majority in Election

LD1604202990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—After unexpected difficulties with counting votes, the final and official results of the elections for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly were announced today at the session of the Republican Election Commission. They confirmed the heralded support of the majority of the Slovene population for the Demos.

The Slovene united opposition, led by presidential candidate Joze Pucnik, received almost 55 percent of the votes throughout Slovenia, that is, 47 seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly.

The former Slovene League of Communists, presently the Party of Democratic Renewal received 17 percent of the votes. The former Slovene youth organization, presently the ZSMZ-Liberal Party [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation-Liberal Party], follows with 14.49 percent of the votes; then, the Slovene Christian Democratic with 12.98 percent; the Slovene Peasant Union with 12.55 percent; etc.

Eight parties that received less than 2.5 percent of the votes will not get seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber.

In its complaint to the Electoral Commission, the Alliance for the Protection of the Equality of Citizens [savez za ocuvanje ravnopravnosti gradjana] says that it has enough information to suspect that in some electoral units the alliance's ballot papers were eliminated as invalid. At the same time, the alliance, which is headed by Dragisa Marojevic, insists that, due to a policy based on exclusivity and nationalism, it was not given an opportunity to participate in the elections on an equal footing and, as a consequence, it has been deprived of seats in the parliament that it is entitled to.

It should be noted that the alliance obtained 2.46 percent of the votes, or fewer than necessary for winning a seat in the parliament. The alliance, therefore, calls for the recount of votes and want the election results annulled.

The republic's Electoral Commission came to the conclusion that it was not within its competence to deal with complaints of this kind and that the body to refer the complaint to is the Electoral Commission in the electoral unit where the irregularities occurred.

In the direct elections on 8 April, the parties fought for 17 seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber. The following were elected in the first electoral unit: France Bucar, Slovene Democratic Alliance [Slovenacki Demokratski Savez], Ciril Ribicic, Slovene League of Communists-the Democratic Reform Party [SKS- Stranka Demokratskih Reformi], and Mile Setinc, ZSMS-the Liberal Party [ZSMS- Liberalna stranka]; in the second electoral unit: Tone Anderlic, ZSMS-the Liberal Party, and Milan Balazic, Slovene League of Communists-the Democratic Reform Party; in the third electoral unit: Janez Kocijancic, Slovene League of Communists-the Democratic Reform Party, and Janez Jansa, Slovene Democratic Alliance; in the fifth electoral unit: Peter Bekes, Slovene League of Communists-the Democratic Reform Party; in the sixth electoral unit: Joze Skoljc, ZSMS-the Liberal Party; in the seventh electoral unit: Zoran Thaler, ZSMS-the Liberal Party, and Emil Milan Pintar, Slovene League of Communists- the Democratic Reform Party; in the ninth electoral unit: Andrej Verlic, ZSMS- the Liberal Party; and Franci Pivec, Slovene League of Communists-the Democratic Reform Party; in the 10th electoral unit: Joze Magdic, Slovene Christian Democrats [slovenski hriscanski demokrati]; in the 11th electoral unit: Ivan Pucnik, Slovene Peasant Union [slovenacki seljacki savez]; in the 12th electoral unit: Franc Potornik, Slovene Peasant Union; and in the 14th electoral unit: Franc Pipan, Slovene League of Communists-the Democratic Reform Party. [no eighth or 13th electoral units noted]

Slovene Journalist Society Claims Interference

LD1604210290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—It was with indignation that we received the news about new political measures against the editors and journalists of Novi Sad Television. Just like the recent case of Belgrade Television, we have again witnessed an act of impermissible interference by a political ideology in journalists' professional decisions. This was stressed in a statement issued today by the Slovene Journalist Society.

We oppose the persecution of the journalists who, in their professional work, adhered to their professional code and principles, the statement adds. Our indignation is all the greater in view of the fact that the punishment of the journalists has occurred at a time when attempts are being made to enhance the autonomy of the journalistic profession, and despite guarantees from politicians that they would no longer interfere in editorial policy. The Slovene Journalists Society administrative board has asked its representatives in the Yugoslav Journalist Federation Presidium to take resolute steps to safeguard journalistic freedom in Yugoslavia.

Survey of Croatian Election Scene—Part 1

LD1704102290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0932 GMT 17 Apr 90

["What and how voters in Croatia will choose (the first in a series of three daily features) by Borislav Korkodelovic and Zorica Markovic"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, April 17 (TANJUG)—The year 1990 will certainly gain a prominent position in Yugoslavia's political history—among other things also because of the organization of the first multi-party elections in the country's postwar history, in the republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

The ice was broken by the holding of the first round of parliamentary and presidential elections in Slovenia on April 8, while on Sunday, April 22, it will be the turn of voters in Yugoslavia's second-largest republic to face the uncharted waters of multi-party elections.

Thirty-three political parties have been registered in Croatia thus far. Several of them have not fielded their own candidates but have opted to join other parties which have similar programmes. Apart from candidates running for one party, there are a number jointly nominated by several political groupings.

Finally, there are also some independent candiates, proposed by one or more citizens.

The results of frequent public opinion polls indicate that the battle for the republican parliament will be fought between two coalitions and one party—the Croatian Democratic Bloc, the Reformed League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Change (LCC-PDC) and the Croatian National Agreement.

Croatia's 3.5 million-strong electorate (out of a total population of about 4.85 million) will in the elections' first round vote on candidates for delegates in communal assemblies and deputies in the Republican Assembly.

Farmers will also vote for their representatives in chambers of associated labour at communal, municipal and republican levels.

The 356 delegates, seats in the Republican Assembly will be contested by a total of 1,705 candidates—384 of them are running for the 80 places in the socio-political chamber, the smallest but held to be the most "politically important."

There are [words indistinct] candidates for the 116 seats in the chamber of communes, and 856 for the largest, the 160-seat chamber of associated labour.

Far more candidates are in the contest for seats in assemblies at municipal and other sub-republican levels—there are 116 local assemblies in Croatia and about 5,000 candidates are believed to be in that race.

The elections in Croatia differ from those in Slovenia in one important respect: Croatia has retained its existing indirect manner of choosing the president and other members of the republican presidency.

The Croatian election system is similar to those of the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden or Norway, so that the republic's number-one man and his closest associates will be elected by the Republican Assembly from among prominent party and independent figures outside the assembly itself.

The second round of the elections, on May 6 and 7, will feature a vote on those candidates who won at least seven but not more than fifty per cent of the ballots in the first round. The second round is also expected to be a very busy one, as the number of candidates is large and the electorate very dispersed.

(Tomorrow: the programmes of the three main election groupings in Croatia)

Complaints of Violence in Croatian Campaign

LD1604214690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—The republic's committee for the supervision of elections today warned of increasingly frequent complaints about violent behavior in the preelection campaign: tearing down posters, attempts to prevent parties from displaying their posters, threats of violence, and various forms of revenge. In its declaration on the principles of behavior of candidates, and in its public statements, the committee has sharply condemned this kind of behavior and has called for fairness and tolerance.

In view of the fact that violent behavior surrounding the election campaign is on the increase, the committee calls on all parties and organizations to immediately inform the competent state bodies (the police, the Internal Affairs Secretariat) about any incident. These bodies will have the duty to promptly intervene in order to protect citizens' political rights, the committee for the supervision of elections of the Socialist Republic of Croatia says in conclusion.

Zagreb Bans Election Meetings in Town Squares

LD1604214190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—The Centar Municipality Assembly Executive Council in Zagreb today drew the attention of all the political parties, including the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma], to its decision of 15 March 1990 "not to allow public meetings at Republic Square, the Marshal Tito Square, and the Brotherhood and Unity Square during the election campaign."

This was stressed in a statement issued after a session today of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Zagreb's Centar Municipality that, according to the statement, "learned from media reports about plans by the Coalition of National Accord to hold a preelection meeting at Republic Square in Zagreb on 18 April."

The Executive Council goes on to note that all registered parties in the Socialist Republic of Croatia were promptly notified of the decision and that all subsequent demands by various parties, including the Croat League of Communists-the Party of Democratic Changes [SKH-Stranka Demokratskih Promjena], and the Croat Democratic Community [HDZ] have been rejected. The statement stresses that all political parties observed the decision not to allow their meetings.

The Executive Council stresses that it will promptly inform the republic's committee for the supervision of elections about its decision in order to guarantee all the parties equal treatement.

Croat Veterans Statement on Elections

LD1604135290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—The Veterans of Croatia Republican Board Presidium sent its electoral statement today to the public that points out that the veterans, and not only them, will give their votes in the elections to the political left wing, the forces of full peace, social security, the overall development of the Croatian nation, the Serbian nation in Croatia, and other nations and nationalities that inhabit it.

We will give our vote to those who favor a peaceful, safe, and democratic development as we proceed from the free individual to the nation, to those who have set the basis for full freedom of creation, particularly to those who have done this along the Federal Executive Council program, to those who regard the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ZAVNOH [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia] principles as the lasting constants in the peaceful, stable, and well-coordinated life of all the nations and people on the soil of Croatia and federal Yugoslavia.

We will express our mistrust, the veterans say, to all those to whom access to Europe implies departure from Yugoslavia, who are homogenizing the nation in a stormtroopers' way as they push it to nationalism by giving it "one will and one aim—one leader, electoral pigeons, olive branches, and hawks." We oppose all those whose daggers and guns are lurking underneath their democratic outfit and whose democratic sweet talk "envelopes their fiery tirades of national exclusiveness with all the consequences of a blitzkrieg in the name of the unattainable grandeur of their states, in spite of the fact that the Balkans can accommodate neither big nor small empires." [passage omitted]

Croat, Bosnia-Hercegovina CC Groups Hold Talks

LD1604214590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—Only deep cuts and radical conceptual turnabouts can open up prospects for the left in Yugoslavia. New progressive political forces can be rallied just on these grounds in the struggle for democratic changes and socialism.

This was stated today at the meeting in Zagreb between delegations of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes Central Committee [CC] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] CC. In order to rally reform and socialist-oriented forces, it is necessary to comprehend social processes in the country, the state of relations within it, and its specific features.

The statement notes that the meeting pointed, on the one hand, to the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League Communists CC for a new League of Communists of Yugoslavia congress to be convened and organized, and, on the other, to the initiative of the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Changes for holding roundtable talks with the Yugoslav democratic left.

Bearing in mind that other initiatives are possible, it was proposed to form a working body, composed of representatives of constitutent LC organizations, which would be open to other left-wing forces oriented towards democratic socialism and would expose themselves to the test of the electorate at free multiparty elections. This working body should comprehensively consider conditions for the activity of left-wing forces under modern conditions and propose foundations and forms for linking them up and for their joint activity in a new historical phase of the creation of the political, program, organizational, and social identity of the Yugoslav democratic left, equipped to act in a multiparty system, the statement finally notes.

Zagreb TV Plans Election Programming

LD1304165890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—Starting 15 April, Zagreb Television on its first channel starting at 2100 [1900 GMT] will broadcast four several-hours-long topical programs in which various parties standing in the first multiparty parliamentary elections in Croatia on 22 April will participate.

This was stated at today's news conference at Zagreb Television premises, where editors and leading people of that enterprise presented a plan and program of following the final stage of the election campaign in the republic. They especially singled out new programs on election day, 22 April.

This Sunday, [15 April], there will be a program about the political constitution of Croatia and Yugoslavia; on 17 April, party candidates will present their views and opinions about socal development in Croatia. The topic of the 18 April program will be parliamentary elections and new assembly. On 20 April, leading personalities of the Croat League of Communists Party of Democratic Changes, the Socialist Alliance-Alliance of Socialists, the Croat Democratic Community, and the Coalition of National Accord will confront each other directly.

Starting 16 April, regional television will present candidates for municipal communities of Zagreb, Split, Rijeka, and Osijek. These programs will start at 1700 [1500 GMT].

A special full-day program is being prepared for election day, to which the entire program scheme is adapted. On

the first channel, 10 short news bulletins lasting about 10 minutes are planned, as well as special blocks of news within regular news bulletins, which will be dedicated to the elections. It is also planned to have numerous live reports from polling stations, to air live commentaries by domestic and foreign journalists following the elections, and to link up with regional centers and main headquarters of the republican election commission. It was also agreed to link up with Ljubljana Television because on that day the second round of the presidential elections will be held in Slovenia. [passage omitted]

Poll Examines Political Mood in Croatia

AU1104123790

[Editorial Report] Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian on 3 April on pages 5-8 carries an approximately 4,000-word unattributed report on an opinion poll concerning forthcoming elections in Croatia, entitled "What Kind of Croatia They Want."

The poll, conducted by a DANAS research team, was a "postal poll" and was carried out in Zagreb, Split, and Rijeka between 19 and 21 March.

"In Zagreb, there were 495 respondents of whom 3.64 percent were Serbs, 85.25 percent Croats, 6.87 percent Yugoslavs, and 4.24 percent did not declare themselves as members of any nationality. Among the respondents there were 184 women. The majority, 47.68 percent, have secondary school education, 33.54 percent have higher education, and 17.58 percent have primary school education. Members of the League of Communists of Croatia make up 8.69 percent, members of the Croatian Democratic Community 3.64 percent, and members of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance 1.21 percent of the sample, while the remaining 86.46 percent of the sample are not members of any party. Among those who were polled were employees of the enterprises Munja, Iko, Jugokeramika, Exportdrvo, ATM, Jadran—furniture factory, DOM, Pastor, Astra, as well as students, pensioners, and the unemployed.

"The Split sample consisted of 477 respondents of which 183 were women. Croats make up 89.73 percent of the sample, Yugoslavs 3.56 percent, and Serbs 1.68 percent. Other nationalities and those who did not want to answer the question concerning their national affiliation make up the remaining 5.03 percent. Among the respondents, 7.55 percent have primary school education, 59.33 percent secondary school education, and 31.03 percent higher education. Members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, or the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]—Party of Democratic Renewal make up the biggest part of the sample, 18.03 percent; members of the Croatian Democratic Community, 6.50 percent; members of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, 0.21 percent; members of the Croatian Democratic Party, 1.26 percent; and members of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, 0.42 percent. The rest (nonmembers and undeclared) make up 73.58 percent." The Split sample also consists of workers, students, pensioners, and unemployed.

"In Rijeka, 327 people took part in the poll. There were 106 women. The respondents consisted of Croats, 74.01 percent; Serbs, 6.73 percent; Yugoslavs, 13.76 percent; Muslims, 1.53 percent; and Italians, 1.22 percent. The Rijeka sample is made up of 54.13 percent of those with secondary school education, 7.34 percent had only primary school education, and 37 percent higher education. As regards membership in political parties, 13.15 percent did not declare their membership, 17.43 percent are members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, that is the LCC—Party of Democratic Renewal; 1.53 percent are members of the Croatian Democratic Community; and the remaining 80.43 are not members of any parties." Again, the respondents in Rijeka were a mixture of workers, students, pensioners, and the unemployed.

Respondents were asked several questions and the results are presented in several tables. All figures appear as published. The most important results are as follows:

Question 1: "Which party do you think can best fulfill your expectations concerning Croatia's future?"

	Rijeka	Split	Zagreb
League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY)	1.83	2.52	2.22
LCC—Party of Democratic Renewal (LCC-PDR)	18.96	17.19	10.71
LCY plus LCC-PDR	20.79	19.71	12.93
Alliance of Socialists	1.53	0	0.61
The Greens	4.89	1.26	2.02
Autonomous Democratic Alliance of Croatia	0	0	0
Radical Association for United States of Europe or Transnational Radical Party	0.31	0.42	0.40
Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative	0	0.42	0
Yugoslav Independent Democratic Party	1.22	0	0.20
Serbian Democratic Party	0.31	0	0.20
Party of Yugoslavs	1.83	0	0.20
Coalition	11.93	14.26	16.16
Croatian Social Liberal Alliance	4.28	4.61	5.45
Croatian Democratic Party	0.92	1.26	3.32
Croatian Christian Democratic Party	1.22	1.47	1.21
Social Democratic Party of Croatia	1.83	2.31	0.81
Croatian Peasant Party	0.61	1.26	1.62
Coalition of National Understanding (total)	20.79	25.17	28.48
Croatian Peace Movement	0	0.21	0
Croatian Democratic Community	23.24	30.61	33.13
None of the parties	25.08	22.22	21.61

Question 2: "Status of Croatia in Relation to Yugoslavia" (a bar chart with rounded-off figures in percentages)

	Zagreb	Split	Rijeka
1. In federation	24	27	37
2. In confederation	52	47	48
3. Independent	25	26	13

Question 3: "Which is the most appropriate official name for Croatia?" (in percentages)

	Zagreb	Split	Rijeka
1. Republic of Croatia	61	54	63
2. Croatia	27	30	17
3. Socialist Republic of Croatia	12	16	20

Question 4:"Do you think that Croatia's borders should be changed?" (in percentages)

	Zagreb	Split	Rijeka
1. Yes	27	31	15
2. No	69	66	78
3. No, but with possible autonomous areas	3	2	7

Bosnia-Hercegovina on Elections, Defense

LD0904202290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—Proceeding from the need to create constitutional preconditions for free and democratic elections and equal participation of citizens and political parties in them as soon as possible, the Presidency of the Soviet Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina considered a working version of draft amendments to its Constitution at today's session. The thrust of the discussion was on the most important issues of freedom, rights, and the obligations of man and citizen; association in political, social, and other organizations and associations; and the status and role of the republican Presidency and organizations belonging to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The need was underlined for constitutional changes to be grounded on the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ZAVNOBIH [Regional Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Bosnia-Hercegovina] principles and achievements of the modern development, and on these grounds, new perspectives should be opened up for the socialist, democratic development of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a sovereign republic, the statement from the session notes.

The Presidency considered the proposal of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and established the program of joint exercises in Bosnia-Hercegovina for 1990. Territorial defense, sociopolitical communities, and commercial organizations will take part in the exercises. Taking into account the needs and material possibility of society, it is envisioned that the number of participants in the exercises will be reduced by 68 percent in comparison to 1989. This means that the financial cost will be also reduced.

The reduced volume of the exercises, however, must not reduce their efficiency regarding preparations for all-people's defense. Therefore, all organizers and participants in these defense self-protection tasks, are obliged to ensure, with full responsibility and maximum effort, the appropriate level of organization, preparations, and undertaking of joint exercises, so that they give the largest possible contribution to the defense capability of the Armed Forces and all subjects of all-people's defense and social self-protection. It was also noted that, on the basis of the Presidency's conclusions, changes are to be undertaken in relevant legal regulations that will lay down more favorable compensation to reservists for the loss of personal income incurred through the participation in military exercises.

The Presidency established a proposal regarding decorations and made a decision to pardon 46 sentenced people, the statement concludes.

Bosnian LC Faces Rift on 'Nationality Basis'

AU0804210790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent Ljubo Nikolic from Sarajevo on the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The last session of the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] has agitated the political scene in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The League of Communists [LC] is facing divisions on a nationality basis, and there is increasing pressure by political parties from other republics. Here is a report from Sarajevo by Ljubo Nikolic:

[Begin Nikolic recording] The interruption of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has led to the polarization in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its CC. The polarization has reached serious proportions in the last two months in particular. The party leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina has made several moves for which it is now being sharply criticized by the membership throughout the republic.

While it is true that the Presidium was authorized by the CC to hold talks with the representatives of other LC organizations in the country, it is also true that regarding the talks with the Slovenes, the Yugoslav People's Army, and the Macedonians, the membership and the CC itself know only as little as was reported through meager and taciturn statements. What is more, within the CC there is an active group of youths, the so-called Youth Forum, which has collected signatures for the withdrawal of the

Bosnian militiamen from Kosovo, something that contradicts the official assessments of the state bodies in this republic and the CC itself. The Presidium also registered the party without consulting the CC and the membership. And finally, the members of the LCY CC from Bosnia left the session held in Belgrade.

All these were the reasons for mass protests in various parts of the republic and the condemnation of Nijaz Durakovic and the like-minded people in the CC Presidium. This happened in Titov Drvar, Prijedor, Trebinje, Seijkovici, Banja Luka, Glamocje, and other places.

What strikes one immediately is that all these places are places mainly populated by Serbs. This explains the warning and anxiety that the rift in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the republic itself could take place on a nationality basis. This is the most dangerous thing that could happen to our central republic.

At the same time, the protests are accompanied by falling membership. In the last few days, more than 40 Communists returned their membership cards in the Sarajevo commune of Centar. It is perhaps this that prompted Ivo Komsic, member of the CC Presidium, to warn on 7 April against the danger of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina becoming a single-nationality party.

Nijaz Durakovic and his associates have not exploited the chance—to which we here in this program have also pointed on numerous occasions—to act as a catalyst and pacifier between the confronting sides within the LCY. The reason for this is their inflexibility concerning the basic orientations. For instance, Durakovic claims that during his talks with Ciril Ribicic he could not abandon his views on a federal Yugoslavia, a unified Yugoslav People's Army, and a unified LCY, but on the new democratic basis. As far as the talks with the Macedonians are concerned, Durakovic says that the LC's of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia have similar views and that they agreed to jointly offer a platform for further action to others.

Nijaz Durakovic, Ivan Brigic, and Dragutin Kosovac are to be strongly reproached for walking out of the session in Belgrade. We said that no decision should be made at this session; we were in favor of exchanging views and finding a way out of the impasse, Durakovic says. He and others are categorically denying that their aim was to break up the LCY CC and (?accept) the western variant in the party and the state. [passage indistinct] This caused great consequences is not well illustrated.

In the situation like this, instead of announcing a resignation, the party leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina is looking for a solution in the continuation of the 10th republican party congress and the adoption of a platform that is acceptable to a great majority of members in the republic.

So, while Durakovic and the CC Presidium are offering the middle option of how to solve the problems in the LCY and the country as whole, and the divided, confused, and uninformed membership is awaiting for the outcome—and at the same time is decreasing—other parties are aggressively attacking this republic.

The presence of Tudjman and Tripalo is felt in western Hercegovina. In Sarajevo, the political scene has been entered by the Muslim Party, which has great ambitions. There are also some indications that Serbian-oriented parties are operating in northern and eastern Bosnia and eastern Hercegovina. The law on association of citizens does not permit the founding of the parties on a nationality basis, but there have been calls and attempts to change this law and to rescind this provision. Support for such changes in the laws were also heard yesterday at the CC session from several members.

All in all, the political scene in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been fairly disturbed and is threaten by major tremors. [end recording]

Bosnian LC Adopts Stands on LCY Congress

AU1004132590 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Our Response Is a Platform"]

[Text] On 7 April, the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted conclusions that determine what the response of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina CC will be to the letter from the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which advocates the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. In the concluding speech, Nijaz Durakovic recalled the stand of the Presidium according to which every LC member has the right to take a personal stand regarding the letter, taking into consideration all the consequences of the dissolution of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Durakovic stressed the democratic approach and the independence of this decision.

Afterward, the LC unanimously adopted the conclusion that the best response to the letter was the platform that had been adopted by the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This implies the continuation of the 10th Congress of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which will launch an initiative for continuing a new LCY congress. [sentence as published]

A decision on whether members of the LCY CC from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina will go to the session of the LCY CC, which has been scheduled for 14 April, was left up to the independent will of each member. The view is, however, that the way in which this session was called suspends the opportunities for democratic dialogue. However, if LCY members from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina go to this session, they are obliged to represent the stands of the party organization of the LC of Bosnia- Hercegovina.

The proposed stands of the CC Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina concerning the working-consultative meeting of the LCY CC, which have already been published in the media, were also unanimously adopted.

The proposal to instigate a secret vote of confidence in the CC Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina was rejected with three votes "for."

The delegates also reaffirmed the earlier proposal by the CC Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina that the LCY CC Presidium should submit its resignation and in its place the work of the LCY CC should be coordinated by a body made up of members from all parts of the LC and six members of the working group for formulating LCY documents.

There was also unanimous endorsement for the proposal that the members and the wider public should be briefed on all the stands at the 7 April session of the CC of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to a conclusion by the CC, the Presidium will request talks with delegations from the LC of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Yugoslav People's Army and the party delegation of Croatia before 14 April.

Bosnian LC Plenum Proceedings

AU1104220090 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 90 pp 1,3,4

[Lj. Smajlovic, A. Sarac, S. Rakocevic-Novakovic, and E. Habul report on the sixth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo on 7 April: "Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina By End of May"]

[Excerpts] At its sixth session, the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina on 6 April adopted the proposed platform of the activities of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina under the new conditions, a programmatic document that will finally be decided upon at the 10th congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Communists, which is scheduled to continue—after a decision that was also made 6 April—at the end of May. The voting on the proposed platform was preceded by a long and quite stormy debate that oscillated between praising and challenging individual provisions in this document. [passage omitted]

Submitting the introductory speech on the party debate results on the draft platform for the activities of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina under the new conditions, Dr. Krstan Malesevic, CC Presidium member of the LC of Bosnia- Hercegovina, said among other things:

The debate that was carried out in all 109 communal organizations of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina (from three-fourths of the communal committees we also received summarized assessments of these debates, most often with the electoral stands of the basic LC organizations) unambiguously showed that most members support the basic orientation of the reform of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] that was expressed in this platform. Even though different views were expressed on some specific proposals (which is logical, understandable, and even useful) it is quite obvious that there is unreserved support for the orientation that the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be transformed into a modern political party whose key programmatic aim will be the struggle for democratic socialism, of course through exclusively democratic means, publicly, and on an equal footing with other political entities in a pluralist, multiparty political competition. [passage omitted]

Even the first participant in the debate on the platform, Dragan Kalinic, questioned the ideological and political consistency of some of the solutions offered by this document and opened a round of challenges and defenses in which more than 10 CC members participated. Kalinic thought that the platform had succeeded in expressing the extent of the necessary dissociation from those things in the past that would at the present time undermine the party's survival. [passage omitted]

Kalinic then asked whether the definition of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the platform as a sovereign state implies the orientation that we support a confederation because the concept of sovereignty implies full state independence and inviolability. Now, as far as I know, only the SFRY is a sovereign state. I am sure, Kalinic added, that I still support a federal state community, and therefore I propose that the platform says that we support Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent and equal republic in the SFRY.

This participant in the debate also proposed that the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina take a stand on the very sensitive issue of accepting or not accepting political parties on a national basis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. "Would we not be demonstrating our strength, broad-mindedness, and feeling for democracy if we did not prevent citizens organizing into single-nationality parties? However, we should work toward advocating that if any party operates according to nationalism, chauvinism, or any other form of discrimination it should be banned by a rule-of-law state." Kalinic also agreed with the stand in the platform opposing autonomous provinces set up on national bases since this would split Bosnia-Hercegovina into "at least three parts." However, he added that in his view, those who advocate a confederal structure are in fact opening the door wide to the creation of national autonomous provinces because in this case there is no federal power that would guarantee the equality and security of the minority people in a state that is dominated by one people. [passage omitted]

I think that at the 10th congress of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, we clearly expressed the stand that we are against both a confederation and the unitarization of federal relations even when we quite specifically and perhaps even too firmly said what kind of content and range of Yugoslavia federalism we support, Miomira Tausan then said. Considering that in the public debate on the platform we heard in several cases (and the media reported this too) that the CC or its Presidium deviates in some instances from the stands of the 10th congress, I want to say that as regards this attitude of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina to Yugoslavia and the way relations

are arranged in Yugoslavia, the CC has not made even the slightest change and has not corrected let alone changed its stand, she said. [passage omitted]

Then Ivo Komsic spoke and stressed that it was very important that the platform of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina should contain stands that were already contiguous with or identical to the stands of the other parts of the LCY since "we are working to unite the LCY." Komsic called the questions that Kalinic raised (religious believers in the LCY and the republic's sovereignty) essential, adding that this raises the "question of our responsibility to the peoples and nationalities that live in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We should not allow our membership to drain away or citizens to turn their backs on us." Komsic then said that the "national structure of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina was totally at odds with the national structure of the population." Without explaining this claim in more detail, Komsic added: "Who will this party belong to in the future: Will it be dominated by one nation or will it create the possibility of it containing other more widespread and more open nations and of it being a party of the equal peoples and nationalities that live in Bosnia-Hercegovina?" If the party were to close itself to religious believers, this would, in his opinion, push them toward those parties that are now being set up and to those parties founded on national bases. "In this respect, we must be open, look each other in the eyes, and not cloud the issues among ourselves. We know very well what this is about."

As concerns sovereignty, Komsic said: "We must be a sovereign republic like every other sovereign republic because all republican organizations have written this into their documents and I see no reason for us to renounce this." [passage omitted]

Criticizing the way in which members are unprepared when they go to sessions of the CC "at which professors give speeches to the unprepared," Mirsad Djapo stressed that the continuation of the 10th congress of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be scheduled immediately after the May vacation and a stand should be taken on the key issues. Because I live in a commune that borders another republic, Djapo said, I know what is acceptable behind the hills, so from that viewpoint I think that if the concept of left-wing forces does not prevail in Bosnia-Hercegovina, we will not be needing any debate whatsoever on sovereignty.

Therefore, in summing up the debate, it was heavily emphasized that the door should not be closed to joint action with the Socialist Alliance because these two left-wing and complementary entities will be standing together at elections in the near future. One should advocate forms of political organization of the Socialist Alliance of Working People that will not discount the possibility of the further involvement of LC members in the Socialist Alliance of Working People, it was stressed. [passage omitted]

The platform of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina (proposal by Karl Filipovic) will form the basis of the operative program of work, which will also be the electoral program of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The CC set up a working group that will compile this document. This document will also contain the attitude of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina (proposals by Dzemal Sokolovic) toward the issues of unemployment, the countryside, agriculture, housing policy, and so on. The issue of the principle of democratic unity will be expounded upon in the statute of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A Gesture That Encourages Schism

In the introductory remarks concerning the preparations, course, and results of the session of the LCY CC, Dragan Kragulj, CC Presidium secretary of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, basically reiterated the stands of the CC Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and recapitulated the actions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina party leadership in this connection. He also dealt, among other things, with the letter from the LCY CC:

We think that the letter, which was sent to LCY members by the participants in the working-consultative meeting of the LCY CC, has no political and statutory legitimacy. Despite this, we are stressing that it is the right of every LC member to take a personal stand toward it, taking into consideration all the possible consequences that it could have. [passage omitted]

The way in which the letter was sent to the LCY members, over the heads of a number of LC republican organizations, objectively speaking, speeds up their further dissolution and internal disintegration. This is particularly reflected in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the possibility of a split on a national basis. Therefore, if one thinks realistically and logically, this cannot be seen as an act that would unite Yugoslav Communists. Furthermore, it could only have the effect of further weakening this unity. [passage omitted]

Whose Is the Youth Forum?

A report on the work of the CC Presidium (which used to regularly be a routine point on the agenda) initiated a debate in which the Bosnia-Hercegovina party leadership was asked a series of unpleasant questions. A dozen participants in the debate criticized the Presidium for errors in informing the members of the CC and members of the LCY CC from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which related to the formation and work of the Youth Forum, which operates within the CC of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, talks with delegations from Slovenia, Macedonia, and the Yugoslav People's Army, the registration of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, opening the door to religious believers, and so on. [passage omitted]

CC President Nijaz Durakovic answered the CC members' questions concerning the Youth Forum. He said that this organization was set up mainly at the initiative of young people in Sarajevo who accept the draft platform of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina as their own.

They are neither young Communists nor are they organizationally connected with the CC. Durakovic said that this only involved support for the programmatic orientation of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the youth had formulated their own program themselves, maintaining independence of activity.

Durakovic also expounded on the controversies connected with withdrawing the Bosnia-Hercegovina militia from Kosovo. "This really is not true," Durakovic said. According to the CC president, they had asked for federal bodies to inform them whether there had been instances of the militia overstepping their powers. If they did not receive this information, then they would ask for the withdrawal of the militia. Since a report was published by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, this issue is no longer topical. There were also questions, said Durakovic, on whether the CC of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina advocates the withdrawal of the Bosnia-Hercegovina militia. We have neither discussed this not taken any stands on it because our stands concerning Kosovo are well known, Durakovic replied.

A question was also asked about the course of talks with party delegations from Slovenia, Macedonia, and the Yugoslav People's Army (Nada Djakovic, Dragan Kalinic, Branislav Grkovac, and others). The criticisms were that a thorough report was not compiled on these talks, that they were "secret" (Grkovac), and that it is not known which stands the CC Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina was representing. Dragan Kalinic expressed his disappointment that members of the LCY CC from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina had not taken part in these talks. He therefore asked for a detailed report on the course of these talks, proposing that the same kind of talks be held with other parts of the LCY.

Nijaz Durakovic gave more detailed information on talks with delegations from Slovenia, Macedonia, and the Yugoslav People's Army. He said that they were mainly connected with the suspension of the 14th extraordinary congress. Certain disagreements also arose in talks with the Slovene delegation. According to Durakovic, it was said that the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not accept the Slovene concept of a confederation and that it does not accept their views on the Yugoslav People's Army and the concept of republican-provincial armies, and that it is against the concept of a league of leagues. What was novel in these talks was that the Slovenes to a certain extent abandoned their concept of a league of leagues and are now in fact advocating in their program an alliance of parties.

The Macedonians do not support a confederation but a federation—like us—and, as regards several issues, they had quite a few views similar to those of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The idea arose in these talks that we jointly put forward a platform for the continuation of the congress or the holding of a new LCY congress, but nothing was done to put this into practice.

Durakovic said that talks were carried out on two occasions with comrades from the Yugoslav People's Army—in Belgrade and Sarajevo, but he said nothing about their content. Finally, Nijaz Durakovic said that initiatives for meetings had been sent to Bogdan Trifunovic and Momir Bulatovic but because of the proceedings of the last session of the LCY CC this contact did not take place. It was also said that the meetings were no secret at all and that statements had been released after them and they had been filmed by television. [passage omitted]

'Grave Political Situation' in Bosnia Viewed

AU1104094390 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 90 p 2

[Gojko Beric commentary: "Troubles With Democracy"]

[Text] There is still no serious political competition in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but there is much confusion and rashness, there are many wrong moves, there is sluggishness verging on indifference, and even an open or concealed fear of democracy. Whether one wants to admit it or not, these phenomena place this republic among the politically more conservative communities in Yugoslavia, something that, after all, it has been for a long time. What is meant here is not only the arrogant and primitive reign of the former political oligarchy, but also the widespread ideological indoctrination in utopian aims and problematic principles that lasted for years.

The new model of political relations has not yet been created and it is still not known when that will happen here and what troubles it may bring. The old model is still functioning, although it is falling apart. We cannot be satisfied with the speed of change, particularly not with the indecisiveness and confusion that comes in its wake, although the reality today is not what it was yesterday. Attempts to "reform" reality with outdated formulas and anachronistic moves result in doubts and big disputes.

On 4 April, this newspaper carried the stands of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina concerning some phenomena and events in the increasingly unscrupulous struggle for power, in which certain parties organized on the principle of national homogenization are coming from other communities and trying to recruit followers in this republic. The key passage in these stances reads as follows: The political organization of citizens on a single-nationality basis would aggravate the already grave political situation in the republic!

However, the 4 April OSLOBODJENJE also carried a report by its correspondent in Duvno from which we learn that as many as 3,000 citizens of the Duvno Commune have joined Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community. Several thousand of Tudjman's followers gathered in Listica on 1 April, but the authorities, acting in conformity with the present Law on Citizens' Associations in Bosnia- Hercegovina, did not let them hold the

announced "public discussion forum." However, party representatives informed the journalists present that the Croatian Democratic Community already has 40 initiative committees in Bosnia-Hercegovina!

Tudjman's political platform is known. It has an aggressive and nationalist spirit and threatening and destructive aims. It represents a counterpart to Vuk Draskovic's party program. The only difference is in the number of supporters, in which Tudjman is absolutely superior. Fear of the possible election victory of the Croatian Democratic Community is spreading through Yugoslavia. As one could hear recently, the Slovene Communists are not indifferent either to an outcome such as this, which might make political relations and the situation in Yugoslavia more than dramatic.

Therefore, the concern about the current sensitive political situation that the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina has expressed cannot be disputed. The Presidency's resoluteness in opposing attempts to usurp territories and redraw the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or to endanger its state sovereignty, is even less disputable. However, the way the essence of the matter is interpreted and whether that interpretation is at variance with democratic principles is not unimportant. In this context, particularly viewed from the point of view of the inviolable freedom of the individual, without which, after all, there is no freedom for a group or a nation, the said Law on Citizens' Associations is, to say the least, controversial and, therefore, disputable.

As has already happened many times, various theses and the order of moves have been mixed up again. Thus, the right kind of question should read: Why does Bosnia-Hercegovina show signs of increasingly visible national divisions and an increase in nationalism?

Does this not mean that all that huge effort that generations of political workers were spending on the "struggle against nationalism in one's own nation"—something that has been a proven formula here for getting on in the power hierarchy and achieving any other kind of personal success—has not only been completely wasted, but its effect was counterproductive; it was in fact engendering nationalism by using it as a means by which political leaderships successfully kept their power, threatening one people with the other? What has happened to the bastion of Yugoslavism, brotherhood and unity, and "Tito's road," which Bosnia-Hercegovina used to be called by the protagonists of its official politics? How did the evident national divisions break out in the republic's League of Communists, in respect of not only the attitude toward Serbia and Kosovo, but also the way the Yugoslav Communists should be organized? Finally, can old solutions in the sphere of interethnic relations and the clashes referred to in interpreting these relations pass the test of time or should one consider redefining them?

Only when answers are given to these and similar questions may it make real political sense and have political purpose to deal with Tudjman and the similar political emissaries and their programs and intentions.

Durakovic Discusses Divisions in LCY

AU1404190790 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Nijaz Durakovic, Central Committee president of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Arina Sarac on 3 April; place not given: "The Letter Smells of Comintern"]

[Excerpts] After Nijaz Durakovic, too, was "shown the door" at the latest unsuccessful plenum, the working consultative meeting of the Central Committee [CC] members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], the events in the party organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina have been followed with special attention. Therefore, we asked the CC president of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina to answer a few questions that chiefly "occupy" the public at this time.

[Sarac] Was the walkout at the latest session of the LCY CC the only acceptable solution for the Bosnia-Hercegovina "delegation" in this body?

[Durakovic] It is difficult to say whether this was the only solution, but in the given situation, it seems that in the individual assessment of each of the LCY CC members from Bosnia-Hercegovina there was no other solution. I stress that each of these people decided to walk out of this session completely autonomously and independently. There was no previous agreement. I walked out first because I assessed that in the atmosphere that was imposed and that was obviously politically skillfully directed, one could not do anything else if one wanted to remain correct and consistent to the principles that we had supported. Petar Skundric conducted the session rejecting any constructive discussion, rejecting all the proposals submitted, imposing solutions that had been prepared in advance even before the agenda was adopted, with a policy of monism and accomplished fact, the old method that had led to the division at the 14th congress, while any sign of goodwill and readiness for a properly argued dialogue, and any different solution and view were proscribed as something separatist, destructive, anti-Yugoslav....

I reject any insinuation to the effect that the members from the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina had arranged something in advance and wanted to eliminate the chances for an agreement among Yugoslav Communists. Anyhow, it was not only the members of the LCY CC from Bosnia-Hercegovina that walked out of the hall. Out of three Macedonians present, two walked out (only Milan Pancevski remained), and some other members also walked out, because it was in fact seen that only some 50 persons remained, probably considering themselves to be a true, believing remnant of the LCY.

Our walkout does not mean that in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina we will not accept any initiative that leads to an accord among Yugoslav Communists and to a democratic dialogue.

In Whose Name Did Skundric Speak

[Sarac] What was the arrangement agreed upon in the LCY CC Presidium at its session preceding this truncated plenum?

[Durakovic] The essential questions brought up by Petar Skundric [Presidium secretary] in his opening speech were neither discussed nor agreed upon in the Presidium. Not only I, but also other members of the Presidium were shocked. There had been no discussion of a date for the congress, 25 April, and no discussion of any time limit by 10 April (this refers to the polling of the republican and provincial organizations on the continuation of the congress—journalist's note), nor any discussion that the session should be continued as a normal session when three parts of the LCY were not present. Therefore, Ivan Brigic also reacted at the session, asking quite specifically in whose name Skundric submitted his opening speech: in the name of the working presidium, in his own name, in the name of the LCY CC Presidium, or in the name of Milan Pancevski. It is symptomatic that nobody replied to this question. The question was simply ignored and the session continued. [passage omitted]

[Sarac] The letter that the LCY CC sent to the members from this working consultative meeting—as the CC session was later called—was termed by you at your subsequent news conference "an indirect way to cut down the republican and provincial organizations," or rather an indication that a unified organization with individual membership is to be set up. Do you maintain this assessment of that action?

[Durakovic] I do, and on 2 April this assessment was confirmed by the CC Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina in much stronger terms. It was even said that the letter smells of some kind of Comintern practice, dogmatic approach, and lack of comprehension of the LC position at present. It seems it is still believed that party will can be imposed from the center, according to a recipe set in advance, and that a basically centralized LC organization conceived in a unitarian spirit can be created.

Fear of a Split

[Sarac] From the point of view of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, what does this letter signify, or rather how real is the fear of its splitting on the basis of ethnicity?

[Durakovic] We have had some very controversial reactions among the Bosnia-Hercegovina party members. Some organizations have left their communal committees and expressed their disagreement with the walkout at the LCY CC session. Others again have sided with the other side. In essence, very divergent tendencies have developed in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the same has happened partly in the LC of Croatia. I do not know what the situation is in other parts. This will certain cause great harm to the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and fears exist that it may resemble a peculiar ethnic division. If the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina began to split along ethnic lines, it would be a real catastrophe. It is not just a matter of the League of Communists, but the entire concept of common life in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the sovereignty, equality, and independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina are jeopardized. It now remains to be seen what is to be done to preserve the unity in the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina to some extent.

[Sarac] What will be the next move of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership in this direction?

[Durakovic] For 4 April, we have convened a working consultative meeting with all the communal committee presidents so that we may report to them properly on the essence of our stands. A CC session is convened for 7 April, at which we will above all discuss the platform for the activities of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina under the new conditions. We feel that the proper answer to all that is going on is precisely to insist on the platform, and this basically means a demand for further democratization and the building of a modern party under conditions of political pluralism, and a demand to reject everything that was characteristic of the LC as a classic sociopolitical organization. We are aware that if we want to remain on the political scene, we must first of all get rid of the bureaucratic practice and behavior, and come forward with new ideas and new programs.... [passage omitted]

[Sarac] What will happen if the remaining "core" in the LCY CC convenes a continuation of the congress, inviting by name delegates from all parts of the LC?

[Durakovic] It remains to be seen. I repeat: We will not prevent anybody from expressing his individual will and wish, nor we have any right to do so. We proceed from the view that every delegate is an independent, sovereign person who adopts his own decisions. Therefore, I would not want to make any predictions.

Serb Presidency Wants Kosovo Emergency Lifted

AU1704132890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 90

["Text" of announcement issued by the 17 April session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia]

[Text] At its session today chaired by Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic, the Presidency of Serbia discussed the security situation in Kosovo. Republican Internal Affairs Secretary Radmilo Bogdanovic informed the Presidency that as of 16 April 1990, the affairs of state and public security in Kosovo have been taken over completely by the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, in conformity with the decision of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The Presidency concluded that a state based on the rule of law must perform its functions as a regular obligation,

and not consider them to be a state of emergency. The peace and security of its citizens must be a regular state of affairs everywhere in Serbia and therefore in Kosovo, too. The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has taken the stand that the state of emergency in the province should be lifted, and therefore sent a corresponding proposal to the SFRY Presidency.

Kosovo's Sapunxhiu on Constitutional Change

AU1704132190 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Apr 90 p 7

["Exclusive interview for RILINDJA" with SFRY Presidency member Riza Sapunxhiu by Y. Bajra; place and date not given: "The Provinces Must Be Constitutive Elements of the Federation"]

[Excerpt] At the last meeting of the chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the delegates did not agree to begin the debate on the SFRY Presidency initiative for constitutional changes because the emergency measures are still in force in our province. SFRY Presidency member Riza Sapunxhiu also took part in this meeting. At our request, he enlarged for RILINDJA readers on many relevant details connected with this subject, which is as topical as it is important.

What Is the Purpose of the Initiative

I can merely say what I intended to present for discussion at the joint meeting of the chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, if the meeting had begun, he said at the start of our talk, adding that this would have been perfectly identical to what I advocated at the meeting of the SFRY Presidency when it examined the issues connected with the initiative for changes in our country's Constitution. However, I do not think it would be superfluous to first describe the purposes of the initiative. The changes this document proposes are intended to guarantee the best possible provisions for Yugoslavia's political stabilization and socioeconomic development, a full guarantee for the freedoms of working people and citizens, the full equality of the peoples and nationalities in our country, and a strengthening and enrichment of the basic values on which the Yugoslav federation is built, which implies the principles of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and a community of a federal nature.

This initiative and the proposed changes should secure respect for the individual rights of working people and citizens, respect for the rights of collectives, the independence and encouragement of economic forces in the market, and a pluralism of resources, which may be either social, individual, or held jointly. Besides this, the initiative also includes the guarantee of democratic political association and of the development of all forms of self-managing socialism. However, it above all aims at securing the operation of the rule of law throughout the country.

For an Adequate Treatment

In the discussions carried out during the initiative's formulation, the greatest attention has been paid to relations within the federation, the representation of the provinces within it, and their participation in federal bodies. For this reason, two draft versions of the initiative have been drawn up so far. In the most recent, there have even been significant improvements, while several important issues have, in my view and conviction, remained still not properly defined. For example, in the text of the initiative that states that "changing the SFRY Constitution requires the agreement of the republics," the alternative version, "the agreement of the socialist republics and the agreement of the Socialist Autonomous Provinces, should be inserted. [Quotation marks as published] Or, the text covering the rights of the federal units of Yugoslavia to "separation," should also continue with "the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina." If these observations are approved, some other sections of the initiative must necessarily be changed. I think that the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo should also support such entirely reasonable proposals, because without them there can in fact be no guarantee of the adequate treatment of the provinces as constitutive elements of the federation. In the end, only in such a way can the provinces be "pillars" of Yugoslav federalism within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. [passage omitted]

Albanian Delegates 'Respect Rules' at Assembly

AU1704113690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 Apr 90 p 7

[Rrustem Rugova commentary: "A Test for the Delegates"]

[Excerpt] The most recent two-day meeting of the chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo took an unusual turn, not because it lasted two days or because the chambers' session was interrupted on the second day by the lack of quorums in the Chamber of Associated Labor and the Chamber of the Communes, but because of everything that took place during the "foreplay" to the meeting of these delegates, for which principles and rules are laid down in the Constitution and by law, including even the Rule-Book of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The composition of the Kosovo Assembly, let us recall, was drawn up following the early elections in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and thus in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo also, on 4 December last year. At this time, three Assembly commissions, including the Constitutional Commission, remained unformed. Let us also recall that the latter commission was formed, with all posts filled, at the last Assembly meeting in question. The agenda of the two-day meeting included the SFRY Presidency proposal to begin the procedure to change the country's Constitution. At the start of the meeting, opinions were divided into two: to

respect the rules and principles on which our social and political system and our system of representation are based, or to break them and make them a political issue. On one hand, the view predominated that the rules cannot be broken. Moreover, since Kosovo itself is being "blamed" for breaking the rule of law, the Kosovo Assembly Constitutional Commission (which was not made up of its full membership), and the Kosovo Assembly, as the highest judicial body in Kosovo, should still less dare to do this.

More than 90 percent of the Albanian delegates expressed the view that the rules of procedure, the Constitution, and legality should be respected. Because the Kosovo Assembly Constitutional Commission had not been constituted before the meeting and had expressed no view, it demanded that the question of examining the SFRY Presidency's proposal to embark on changes to the SFRY Constitution should be postponed. It objected, not because it refused to talk about changes to this Constitution, but because it was in favor of respecting the rules. These delegates said this unanimously, even though the meeting and a section of the public had attempted to portray the postponement of the consideration of this issue as opposition to constitutional change. Petar Jaksic even cast suspicion on these delegates, emphasizing that they are under the influence of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance and the Kosovo Alternative, which have long asked the delegates of this Assembly not to agree to changing the SFRY Constitution (the question concerns alternative proposals to remove the status of the provinces in the federation, and to have them represented solely by Serbia). Pristina University Professors Slobodan Maric and Stanoje Dogandzic, on the other hand, supported the view that this represents opposition to Yugoslavia, that the delegates have fallen under the influence of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, that because of the majority composed of Albanian delegates in the Kosovo Assembly the Serbs and Montenegrins have remained a minority, and that decision-making has involved favoring the Albanian majority. Petar Jaksic illustrated this with the example of the decision to remove from the agenda the matter of the SFRY Constitution, the offered resignations of seven members of the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council, all from the Albanian nationality, and the example of the decision to elect a member of the Montenegrin nationality to the Kosovo Presidency when, even after two ballots, neither of the two proposed candidates had won a sufficient majority of the votes. [passage omitted]

Agani on Kosovo Stance on Constitution

LD1304165590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1048 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—[passage indistinct] The Democratic Alliance, according to Fehmi Agani, fully supports Kosovo Assembly delegates who did not consent to the SFRY Presidency's initiative to adopt a new federal constitution. This is a principled act, he interpreted, especially with a view to "the state of emergency, and the fact that under similar conditions amendments to the Serbian Constitution were adopted last March".

We support, Agani said, the ambition of the Kosovo Assembly to become a political subject that would "counter any disregard for Kosovo's autonomy and its political identity." He reviewed remarks about outvoting at the Assembly session and stressed the stand of the Democratic Alliance that the organization is against any form of outvoting and any imposition of one's will on others.

However, Agani opposed the current understanding of "outvoting" and its abolition because, he noted, such attitudes cannot be overcome by "the imposition of the will of the minority." At the end of his speech, he expressed the conviction that the Kosovo Assembly delegates will continue to oppose the SFRY Presidency's initiative regarding the adoption of a new federal constitution.

The informal groups the "Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Youth" and the "Pristina Initiative Committee for Founding of the Association for the Return of Albanian Emigrants" [Inicijativni Odbor za Osnivanje Udruzenja za Povratak Iseljenih Albanaca u Pristina] today protested the arrest of the eight leaders of "the Youth Parliament."

Council for Defense of Kosovo Leaders Forms

AU1704110390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Apr 90 p 13

[B. Haliti report: "Council for the Protection and Freedom of the Kosovo Youth Parliament Leaders"]

[Text] At the 9 April news conference held by the Kosovo Alternative, Veton Surroi, chairman of the Pristina Branch of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI], began by saying that the appearance of democratic forces on the political scene has recently greatly worried the republican leadership of Serbia, and that the republican authorities of Serbia have persisted in threats instead of the dialogue with the Kosovo democratic opposition promised by the federal authorities. The Kosovo Alternative, Veton Surroi said, is being "blamed" by the Serbian authorities as the main factor in the deterioration of the situation in Kosovo.

After saying that several leaders of the Kosovo Youth Parliament [KYP] have recently been imprisoned, he mentioned Halil Matoshi, Blerim Shala, Lulzim Shala, and almost the entire Presidium of the KYP's Podujevo branch. Veton Surroi said that they were criminally charged on 9 April on suspicion of breaking Article 134 of the Penal Code, and a written explanation is expected to be issued today. They have been imprisoned, Surroi said, merely out of an intention to impede the democratic activities of these young people, whom, as he put it, we know as real democrats because we have worked together for a long time.

Veton Surroi informed journalists that a Council for the Defense and Freedom of the Imprisoned Leaders of the KYP [Keshill per Mbrojtjen dhe Lirine e Udheheqesve te Parlamentit Rinor te Kosoves] has been formed under the auspices of the Pristina AYDI Branch, and that this council includes: Pristina AYDI Branch Chairman Veton Surroi; Shkelzen Maliqi, member of the Kosovo Social Democratic Party Initiating Council; Dom Llush Gjergji, member of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights; Isuf Berisha, chairman of the Association of Kosovo Philosophers and Sociologists; Gazmend Pula, chairman of the Pristina Group of the Yugoslav Helsinki Committee for Human Rights; writer Nerimane Kamberi; and KYP Secretary Ylber Hysa. It was said that Shkelzen Maliqi will lead this council, which was formed on 9 April. The council will commit itself, alongside democratic public opinion in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, to the release of the imprisoned young democrats, demanding that all procedures be conducted openly. We ask, Veton Surroi said, individuals, organizations, and associations to join the council's action to secure the release of the imprisoned KYP members.

On behalf of the KYP, Secretary Ylber Hysa asked all members of the KYP not to consider the imprisonment of their leaders as a suspension or end to the KYP's activity and never to abandon the peace-loving principles of the KYP in solving the Kosovo problem. We also ask them and all citizens of Kosovo, he said, to restrain themselves from unconsidered reactions, because they are opposed to our principles. Hysa said that we demand of the state authorities that our friends should be released from prison at once because these imprisonments, he said, are an abortive attempt to compromise the democratic forces in Kosovo. Ylber Hysa concluded by saying that the KYP will continue its activity in the future.

Pristina Rights Council Protests to Markovic

AU1104132590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Apr 90 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Ante Markovic Demanded"]

[Text] The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, in a statement distributed to the media on 4 April, vigorously protests what it calls "the illegal acts and behavior of some members of the militia in Kosovo," which have included preventing those poisoned from entering clinics to obtain medical treatment, which is an unprecedented act violating not only our laws but the international conventions and covenants that Yugoslavia has ratified. The council protests the detention and interrogation by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of doctors who gave medical treatment to those who asked for it, as occurred with Dr. Mustafa Ademaj and Dr. Mahir Morina from Pec. The council protests the entry of the militia into citizens' houses and apartments, when not only have premises been searched but physical force has been used against citizens, for which, the council asserts, convincing material proof exists, and which has led to citizens being forced to seek medical help. The council also protests the entry of the militia into schools and the maltreatment of teachers and pupils, as in the 11 May Secondary School in Pec.

In view of this situation, the council has sent a letter to Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic seeking his personal intervention in order to prevent such abuses. The council also asks Ante Markovic to receive their delegation in person, in order that he may be fully informed about the situation in Kosovo, which has become unbearable. The letter is signed by Ymer Jaka in the name of the council.

New 'Social Democratic Youth Alliance' in Serbia

LD1204204690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1548 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—There will be another new party on the political scene of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia next month. Today, the leadership of the Republican (Communist) Youth Organization (SSOS) announced to a press conference that it would be transformed into the Social Democratic Youth Alliance (SDSMS) after its May Congress.

In addition to the SDSMS, which will act as a political party, a youth council as a social association will also be formed within the former youth organization, as announced.

Consultations on People's Defense in Novi Sad

LD1004221190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—In the organization of the republican and provincial Secretariats for National Defense of Serbia and Vojvodina, a consultative meeting with officials of municipal and provincial bodies and organizations from the area of all people's defense was held today in Novi Sad.

The consultative meeting was organized, as stated by the Provincial Secretariat for Information, to brief the leading cadres from the province and municipalities in Vojvodina about the main characteristics of the military, political, and security situation in the country and Serbia. The main tasks in the area of all-people's defense, especially from the aspect of organizing, implementing, and commanding all-people's defense in both peace and war, were also considered.

This meeting was organized in line with the SFRY Presidency's directives regarding the training for all-people's defense and the strategy of all-people's defense and social self-protection. It was meant to better equip cadres in Vojvodina for these tasks, bearing in mind cadre changes in Serbia and Vojvodina, and—with the view to the complex situation in the country and the world, the overall changes and developments in the

society—the need for these cadres to be equipped as well as possible for carrying out their functions.

The consultative meeting was opened by Vojvodina Presidency President Jugoslav Kostic. Republican and provincial officials for national defense and internal affairs took part in the meeting.

Serbian Church Seeks Constitutional Changes

LD0904223190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serbian Orthodox Church has sent to the SFRY Assembly a proposal to change some articles of the SFRY Constitution, that is, proposals about a partial change to the Constitution that the Federal Executive Council submitted to the highest parliamentary body in Yugoslavia.

The objections refer, above all, to Article 174 of the SFRY Constitution. The Serbian Orthodox Church explicitly proposes that the article contain a clause that "no state body can pass a law or some other act that would establish a state religion or an official ideology that would in any way restrict the freedom of confession of faith."

Additional articles demand the right that "the church fulfills freely its spiritual, cultural, and historical mission," the right to church and church institutions' property, as well as the right to "carry out voluntary, educational, cultural, and other activity, and, in order to achieve this, to have the unrestricted right to ownership of real estate."

In line with this demand, the Serbian Orthodox Church proposes that the Constitution encompass the return of church property "that was groundlessly taken away through usurpation, expropriation, overstepping of legal frameworks for nationalization, or some other illegal ways."

The Serbian Orthodox Church explains this demand, which it sent to the TANJUG desk for Serbia, by the fact that, according to its high dignitaries, the existing Article 174 prevents the church from interfering in state affairs, "but does not prevent the state from interfering in the affairs of the church and faith, which can best be seen in the existing laws on religious communities." Such an attitude toward faith and the church is "illegitimate," the proposal of the Serbian Orthodox Church says and assesses that in this way, "arbitrary interference of state powers into the church mission is enabled," and thereby, "the freedom of conscience and confession of faith" is restricted. [passage omitted]

Serbian LC CC Presidium Session Statement

LD0904182990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—At today's session, presided over by Dr. Bogdan Trifunovic, the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee [CC] Presidium considered the activities of the Serbian LC in connection with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] CC's letter to the members. It judged that it is necessary to address the members directly. The widespread mood in the Serbian LC shows that the assessments and stances from the letter are endorsed. Such a method of communication between the leadership and members was assessed positively, announced the session statement.

The members are in favor of a LCY as a modern Yugoslav political party, which in the conditions of multiparty system, is fighting for democracy, socialism, and a federal Yugoslavia. They are also in favor of the resumed 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress adopting the decleration as the basic program document and convening a regular congress, which would adopt a new program and statute.

The Serbian LC CC Presidium judged that, on the political scene, in view of the entire public, conservatives and bureaucratic forces attempted to preserve their positions by setting limits to freedom and democracy and by preventing members from expressing their views about the LCY's survival and democratic changes in it. That is, the ban on publishing the letter in Macedonia and Croatia is an obvious example of the antidemocratic and bureaucratic behavior of these leaderships, of the gap between democracy in words and actions that set such administrative limits. Preventing members and the public from participating directly in the political process is an antidemocratic act.

Challenging the legitimacy of the LCY bodies, together with persistent attempts to set up an informal, parallel body headed by Petar Gosev, is a maneuver aimed at the liquidation of the LCY bodies and the LC as a Yugoslav party. Such behavior is a crude assault on the democratic achievements of Yugoslav society, the statement stresses. [passage omitted]

Trifunovic on Reasons Not To Meet Ribicic

AU1304180590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Apr 90 p 6

[J. Radosavljevic report: "Changes for a Strong Political Organization"]

[Excerpts] Sabac, 6 Apr—Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, visited Sabac today. He had talks this morning with workers at the largest Sabac collective, Zorka, and this afternoon with the economic-political activ of the town. He also used his stay in Sabac to visit two of the most successful factories—the nonferrous metals factory and the Zorka pharmaceutical factory.

The Communists of the largest Sabac collective, as well as the other workers, asked the CC president of the LC of Serbia about 30 questions, which he answered in detail. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

We Can Only Reach Agreement With Legitimate Organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]

Dr. Bogdan Trifunovic explained why the LC of Serbia did not accept the invitation for a meeting in the CC of Macedonia that was to be attended by Party of Democratic Reform President Ciril Ribicic.

The Macedonian and Serbian peoples have many threads binding them; they are connected by present-day but also long-lasting interests. We are interested in all-encompassing and equal relations and in cooperation between our two republics. However, we are really worried about articles and statements by individuals in Macedonia who seem to be oriented in another direction. We think that it is very bad if certain statements and actions—no matter whether this is said or not—stoke up anti-Serbian feeling. We think that such actions are not to the advantage of good Macedonian-Serbian relations and good relations between our republics, and do not strengthen Yugoslavia as the community of its equal peoples and nationalities.

One senior official in Macedonia said that we in the LC of Serbia had not accepted an invitation to cooperate with and meet the LC of Macedonia CC. This is not true. After the interruption of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, we were invited to only one meeting of the CC Presidium of the LC of Macedonia by Gosev, a meeting that was also to be attended by Ciril Ribicic, Party of Democratic Reform of Slovenia president, which, as is well known, left the LCY. Since it is the stand of the LC of Serbia that the CC and the CC Presidium of the LCY are legitimate bodies, we did not agree to attend an informal meeting outside the LCY bodies, with those who voluntarily left the LCY, who proclaimed the LCY to be a nonexistent organization, but who would also want to continue to influence an organization that they have left.

On Rift at LCY Plenum

AU1004090090 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Those Who Favor Confederation Are Responsible for Rift in LCY"]

[Text] Bor, 3 Apr—The League of Communists [LC] of Serbia is not, as some people claim, responsible for the rift in the LC of Yugoslavia. Those who are against the Yugoslav character of the LC, that is, those who favor a confederal rather than federal Yugoslavia should be blamed for that. This was stated today by Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, during his talk with the economic-political aktiv of Bor.

The most important questions contained in the congress' declaration and the documents concerning the continuation of the congress were harmonized, but some formal excuses were found first to prevent the adoption of the declaration, and then to obstruct the action aimed at continuing the interrupted congress, Trifunovic said.

The changes that we are facing and which the LC of Serbia strives for, Bogdan Trifunovic said, are very profound because changes in the economic systems cannot be implemented without fundamental changes in society.

It is very important, Trifunovic continued, that in our discussions we opt for a more modern socialist and democratic program that will enable society, and that means us as a political party, to find a way out of the crisis, blockades, and uncertainty. How big these uncertainties are is illustrated by numerous questions raised by the membership. Among these are the questions of whether the LC of Yugoslavia will survive as a political party and whether Yugoslavia will remain federal.

Macedonian Law on Citizen Associations Adopted

AU1204164090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Excerpt] The Macedonian Assembly has adopted the Law on the Political Organization and Association of Citizens. Therefore, this republic has created constitutional and legal conditions for legalizing political pluralism. Here is a report by Boris Djordjioski:

What is adopted in fact are amendments to the present Law on the Association of Citizens that enabled the legalization of the already existing political pluralism in the republic. This means that both old and new parties can now be registered, and they can take part in the coming elections from the same positions and with the same rights. At least 10 citizens are needed to form a party or some other form of organization. The only condition is that they are permanent residents of the republic and that they have not been legally deprived of civil rights. The parties can finance themselves through membership fees or some business or other activity. As concerns more numerous political organizations with more than 1,000 members that have political interests and aims, that is, will be directly involved in the struggle for power, a sum totaling three average gross personal incomes will be earmarked for them in the republican budget. [passage omitted]

Macedonian People's Party Formed

LD1304140790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Summary] Skopje, 13 April (TANJUG)—A new party, the 10th in Macedonia, has been founded in Skopje. The People's Party of Macedonia [Narodna Partija Makedonije] in its platform advocates the realization of the

interests of all segments of society and the use of referenda to decide on all the most important issues for the people of Macedonia. It calls for the inclusion of Macedonia and Yugoslavia in a united Europe without borders and for a Balkan confederation.

Macedonian Democrat Discusses Party Goals

AU1104121990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Emil Anastasov, Executive Committee secretary of the Macedonian League for Democracy, by Nenad Batkoski; place and date not given: "We Are an Ancient Party"]

[Excerpts] Several political parties have been set up in Macedonia. One of the frequent reproaches that leaders of the new parties stress is that their programs and intentions are not talked about much in the Macedonian and Yugoslav media. A similar criticism is being made by the representatives of the League for Democracy, a political party that has clubs in Kumanovo, Prilep, Pehcevo, Titov Veles, Bitolj, Negotine, and Sveti Nikola and has announced that it is setting up centers and clubs in Ohrid, Djevdjelija, Kavardaci, and other places in Macedonia.

Emil Anastasov, Executive Committee secretary of the League for Democracy and a qualified lawyer, stressed at the beginning of his interview with BORBA that there had been some difficulties in setting up branches of the democratic party in Kumanovo, Bitolj, and other places and that communal committees and people in the SVR [expansion unknown] had not given premises for holding meetings, but he also said that this had now been resolved. The League for Democracy operates as a party even though it has not yet received a permit from the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, where it has applied to register. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] There are several parties and initiatives for setting up parties on the political scene in Macedonia. What do you think about them?

[Anastasov] MAAK (the association for all-Macedonian action) seems to be the most popular. Mr. Gane Todorov, this party's leader, recently announced that he wants to form a coalition with the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, and the youth leadership. This means that he is remaining a communist. This party's intention is for the single-party system to remain, particularly because, by paying attention to the national issue, it has been more successful in being incorporated into the ruling structure. MAAK is one phenomenon that should be welcomed, but this movement contains many acclaimed Communists, which bothers me personally. MAAK members have announced that they have nothing against Communists and that they will cooperate with them, which means that it is still not an independent political party. MAAK itself contains what seems to be an extreme nationalist, and not to mention, chauvinist wing. I do not know whether this wing will strengthen or whether it will be eradicated.

In any case, the League for Democracy program advocates that the federal People's Assembly should not contain any party that is not represented on the territory of the whole of Yugoslavia. We believe that a democratic reintegration of Yugoslavia should be carried out in the federal Assembly using an electoral mechanism that will lessen and crush the existing interethnic tensions and divisions. By using this criterion—that each party is to be represented on Yugoslav territory—nationalist parties will only be organized in the framework of the republics. Therefore, even though MAAK has the opportunity to play a specific and positive role in the national revival of Macedonians, it does not have a hope of reaching beyond the borders of Macedonia.

The Social Democratic Party of Macedonia is also made up of former Communists or of people who are Communists in their souls even now, as one of its leaders, Slavko Milosavlevski, has said. The Social Democrats have the same or a similar program to the new programmatic document of the League of Communists of Macedonia. We think that all these, the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Socialist Youth Federation, MAAK, and the Social Democrats will remain a left-wing option. The League for Democracy is not based on these positions.

A peasant workers party of Macedonia is about to be set up. We think that peasants are our natural allies and that they will be in a coalition with us. That is to say, the peasants do not support socialism and communism and we do not support democratic socialism and socialism—but an efficient state that will not have any ideological coloring whatsoever. Otherwise, there has never been any socialism in Yugoslavia. Sweden is a kingdom in which 80 percent of goods are privately owned, but it is closer to the kind of socialism that was envisioned in our country.

[BORBA] At its founding meeting in February, the League for Democracy gave its support, in principle, to Ante Markovic's program but you criticized members of the federal government for also being League of Communists members.

[Anastasov] The federal government's program is good and it is already producing some results. I still think that the government should be a supraparty authority; the Communist Party is a legal but not a legitimate party. However, at this moment, this is not even the most important thing in the final analysis; the elections will give answers to these questions. A serious criticism of Mr. Ante Markovic's federal government is that it has not done much to make the state cheaper. I am unhappy that in one news conference, Markovic laconically said that all our numerous diplomatic representations in the world will remain and that we need so many employees in TANJUG. The republics also have large administrations.

[BORBA] What do you think about the treatment of the Macedonian national minority in neighboring countries and the attention that is paid to this question in Yugoslavia?

[Anastasov] Macedonia is a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation. If Macedonia and the rights of Macedonians are negated, then Yugoslavia is also negated. All the while Yugoslavia allows this, it will be treated in the world as an artificial and temporary creation from which anybody can break off one of its parts. We are committed to the rights of the Macedonian minority in neighboring countries, and reciprocal relations should be established with Yugoslavia's neighbors concerning these problems. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Does your party recognize the right to self-determination as far as secession, and what would happen if one of our republics were to secede?

[Anastasov] We recognize this right because we do not believe that something can be written into the Constitution and then cannot be implemented. We do believe, however, that secession is not in the economic and political interest of any republic. Yugoslavia is interesting for the world as a market with 24 million inhabitants, but Slovenia or Macedonia with a million and a half or two million inhabitants is not of interest to the world. Slovenia's inhabitants should be aware that if they seceded, then the Treaty of Rapallo [signed in 1920], whereby the Slovene people are divided between Austria and Italy, comes into effect. I think that such a division is not in the interests of the Slovenes. It is in the Slovenes' interests for Yugoslavia to be completely democratized and for Slovenes not to feel as if they are in an alien environment, as they themselves are saying. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Whom Do We Cooperate With

We called ourselves a league so that we could have a particular identity in Macedonia and so that we are not thought of as some kind of copy of the democratic party of Serbia, Montenegro, or Croatia. We will cooperate and we are already cooperating with all democratic parties in Yugoslavia. In Serbia, this is the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka], in Montenegro this is the Democratic Party [Demokratska Partija], and in Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Party. In Slovenia, I am still not sufficiently familiar with the program of Demos or any other democratic party that will be oriented to Yugoslavia, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina we are waiting for a democratic party to be set up. In practical terms, we will be a democratic bloc in Yugoslavia. We will fight for the creation of a democratic system in Yugoslavia, which has proved in the world that it is doing well.

We think that Yugoslavia should remain federal regardless of terms like AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], Tito's, or any other. We advocate that neither the internal nor the external borders of Yugoslavia should change. We think that it has great prospects, it is a rich state, and it has an important place in Europe.

Montenegrin Delegation on Albania Cooperation

LD1204223990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Titograd, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Albania is interested and prepared to strengthen economic cooperation with Montenegro. This was stated by the members of an economic delegation of the republic's Executive Council who have just returned from Tirana. In the past three days, the Montenegrin delegation had meetings and talks in Tirana with the country's top government officials and economic leaders.

After an exhaustive exchange of views on particular forms of business links between the economies, a common interest was expressed in the talks in the development of economic relations, particularly in the sphere of small border trade, industry, transportation tourism and agriculture.

In particular, the possibilities were examined for establishing firm business contacts between the metal combine in Elbasan and the Boris Kidric iron and steel works in Niksic, and the more rational use of the Skadar-Titograd railway line.

The Montenegrin delegation to the talks was lead by republican Secretary for the Economy Vojin Djukanovic and the Albanian side by Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci.

Drnovsek Confers With Kucan, Pucnik

LD1604204690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—Within the framework of working talks in Slovenia, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek this evening had talks with Milan Kucan, presidential candidate of the Slovene League of Communists—Party of Democratic Renewal and of the Slovene Socialist Alliance. This morning, Drnovsek received Dr. Joze Pucnik, presidential candidate of the Demos, the united opposition.

Suvar Assails Croatian, Serbian Separatism

LD1704083690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0115 GMT 17 Apr 90

[Text] Split, April 16 (TANJUG)—If Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's economic reform succeeds, the criticism of it by forces which in the name of their nations make clear that they are interested neither in Yugoslavia nor others living in it, will lose politicial ground, member of the Yugoslav state presidency Stipe

Suvar said in an interview published by the daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA on Monday.

The most important point is that, if this happens, nobody in Europe and the world would pay much attention to their separatist policies, Suvar said.

Speaking about the multi-party elections in Croatia, scheduled for April 21 and 22, Suvar assessed that some opposition leaders, primarily the Croatian Democratic Community (CDC), oppose everyone because they "view as enemies all countries or figures declaring for Yugoslavia as a modern federation."

Assessing that CDC leaders who ask for an independent state of Croatia want a civil war (?and blood-shedding), Suvar said that this party offered an outdated concept of ethnocentrism which is, naturally, totalitarian and aggressive towards all those who do not accept it.

Suvar accused of separatism both some opposition parties in Croatian and the Serbian leadership, claiming that Serbia's policy was the most separatist towards Yugoslavia.

Under a veil of Serbia's concern for Serbs everywhere in Yugoslavia, the breaking up of other republics is being carried out, or maybe it is Serbia's ambition to have other members of the federation under its dictate, Suvar said.

Suvar believes that his estimate of Serbia's separastism is confirmed by the fact that in Serbia a trial to longtime undisputed Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito has been asked for. Suvar defended Tito, saying that it could not be possible "that we have lived in peace and achieved a great deal both in the material and spiritual field over nearly 50 years because one man kept us together under an alleged unprecedented dictatorship and because we have all suffered communist terror."

Suvar, who is chairman of the state presidency commission in charge of pardoning, announced that the state top leadership would on Tuesday reach a decision on pardoning political prisoners who have been condemnned of "endangering human lives, other acts of violence and espionage."

Coalition of National Accord Election Broadcast

LD1604194190

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1505 GMT on 16 April carries a 30-minute election broadcast with Slobodan Praljak, who is in the studio to answer questions on behalf of the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma].

Praljak begins by explaining the procedure for calculating votes and electing delegates on the basis of the number of votes received by individual candidates. The coalition has worked hard to ensure that candidates from the parties comprising the coalition do not contest the same seat, he says. In selecting its candidates, the coalition did not pay much attention to opponents. Asked about prominent personalities from various parties competing for the same seat, Praljak announces that the coalition's opponent to Ivica Racan of the Croat League of Communists—Party of Democratic Changes will be Kresimir Dzeba; Slobodan Praljak himself wil have Franjo Tudjman as his opponent. Praljak rules out the possibility of entering into a coalition with the Croat Democratic Community to form a government because the latter has already rejected a previous attempt to do the same. The denationalization of socially owned means and the total depoliticization of police, judiciary, and the media are the coalition's main goals, says Praljak.

Economic Restructuring Achievements Detailed

LD1604133290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 16 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has realized the first stage in the programme for restructuring its economy with the establishment of over 15,000 small and mid-sized firms and entrepreneurships.

The project, drafted by a group of experts of the economic institute of Ljubljana, is in regard to its aims and content closely linked to a programme of the agency for small and medium-sized enterprises and entrepreneurships set up recently by the Yugoslav Government.

Under the project, a restructuring of the economy as the key process of the Yugoslav reform implies among other things the separation from the current large and inefficient enterprises of those segments of production and services which can more successfully be handled by smaller firms.

So-called "incubators for the establishment of all firms" will be used for the creation of small independent economically-viable firms.

New profitable firms should also absorb all surplus labour created by the rationalization of existing enterprises—a rationalization of operation, in a situation when the country is incapable of large scale social security efforts, would in certain firms mean that between 20 and 50 per cent of their workforces would lose their jobs, a problem which hitherto blocked all restructuring endeavours.

The central [word indistinct] the government's agency is to secure a mechanism for [words indistinct] linking of all subjects of importance to the promotion of smaller and medium-sized firms—starting from the protagonists of the measures of economic policy, the purveyors of knowledge and finances all [word indistinct] to the subjects who will realize the projects.

The successful covering of the entire Yugoslav territory should be secured by the agency by the opening of consulting centres in Titograd, Skopje, Djakovica, Subotica, Banja Luka, Belgrade and Ljubljana and education centres—in Bled and on mount Kopaonik.

The process of the restructuring and effication of the Yugoslav economy is closely linked with the search for the owner of the existing social property. This process is expected to be carried out according to a market logic—through a free choice of economic subjects and models of reprivatization based on well-known world experiences. It is proposed that new economic measures place firms in such systemizations in which they will either affirm their efficacy or be transferred into other forms of ownership.

The privatization of all insolvent firms will be realized immediately.

Cooperation with foreign partners, especially in the field of joint investments and the creation of joint firms, is of particular importance for the restructuring of the Yugoslav economy.

A law on foreign investments, which equalizes fully the rights of foreign investors with those of Yugoslav firms, has been adopted in order to attract foreign investment.

The law has contributed to the signing in the first three months of this year of 1,070 joint investment deals, all told worth about 900 million deutsche marks (dem).

Interest in the Yugoslav economy in the world is continuing to grow.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic has set a five-year deadline for the realization of the entire complex of economic reform measures.

New Businessmen, Farmers Party; People's Party

LD1404025190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 13 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 13 (TANJUG)—Rebirth of Yugoslavia as a state of freedom, equality and equal opportunity for all forms of labour and production will be the strategic goals of the Party of Independent Businessmen and Farmers, it was decided at a session of the party's main committee in Belgrade today, which adopted the party's programme.

At the session, which was attended by representatives of all the three wings of the party—the farmers', the independent businessmen's and the other independent professions' wings—it was said that the party would work for subsidizing the health and pension schemes for farmers, the protection of independent businessmen from unfair competition, the abolition of all monopolies and privileges on the market, healthy and cheap food, a legal state and parliamentary system. The party will immediately address itself to the creation of a joint stock bank of independent businessmen and farmers.

The programme principles of a People's Party, which will officially appear on the Yugoslav political stage in May, were presented today in Titograd, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro. The party's main point of departure is that it is an independent party of sovereign people and a sovereign individual, rather than a nation. The party, it was stressed, will work for full national and religious equality and for the giving to the national minorities of rights envisaged under international conventions and it will demand the same rights for the Yugoslav minorities in other countries.

The People's Party also believes that the Yugoslav state should exist and should be known as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The matter should be put to a referendum in the existing Yugoslav republics. If any of the republics should not vote for a federal Yugoslavia, it should still be formed with fewer republics than it has at present, the members of the party maintain. They believe that the republics of Montenegro and Serbia could form the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

People's Radical Party Presents Program

AU1204200490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] At the discussion forum entitled "Radicals Today," the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka] is presenting its program theses and aims. Here is a report by Kosta Krajincanic on this meeting that is being held in the Belgrade Dusko Radovic Theater and attended by about 500 citizens:

[Krajincanic] One of the oldest political parties is resuming its activity after a half of a century. The People's Radical Party proclaims the principles of democracy in its ranks and freedoms to citizens, and the principle that the people are the outlet and inlet of all power.

The party wants to be Yugoslav in character; it advocates a federal setup of the state, but if this is impossible, it will accept the people's will, consistently respecting the principle of self-determination. It is said in the People's Radical Party program that it is important that the future democratic community of our peoples is founded in such a way that there must be no suspicion that it was imposed by anybody.

The discussion forum is held on the question-answer principle. Most questions citizens ask of Miroslav Solevic, who joined the Radicals recently. Other prominent activists in the party are lawyer Milorad Stevanovic and Professor Slobodan Turlakov. Former Kosovo official Dusko Ristic, who is in the party's initiative committee, is also taking part in the discussion forum.

The reply to the question of whether there can be two radical parties at the same time—what is meant is the rift that has broken out among the Radicals—was that in the principle the party wants no factions, but the rift was unavoidable because of personal reasons. One man, Lawyer Veljko Guberina, overemphasized his own personality too much, whereby he almost assumed the role of a leader, something that is incompatible with democracy, Slobodan Turlakov explained.

Studio B Permitted To Broadcast on TV, Radio

LD1404183190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—In keeping with the provisions of the federal and republican laws on information, the Studio B broadcasting enterprise has been registered in the republican Secretariat for Information and given an official license to broadcast television programs as a separate medium. At the same time, Studio B has been registered in the Belgrade district economic court to transmit both radio and television programs.

Citibank Plans Joint Venture With Jugobanka

LD1304021590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1814 GMT 12 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic today received Paul Collins, Citibank vice chairman for Europe and the Middle East.

One of the leaders of this world-known bank, Collins expressed interest in the course of economic reforms in Yugoslavia and stressed willingness to cooperate with Yugoslav banks. As stated, Collins informed the FEC president that Citibank decided to set up soon a joint bank with Jugobanka with headquarters in Yugoslavia.

Loncar Meets Venezuelan Counterpart

LD1404205890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 14 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Venezuela believe that the Non-Aligned Movement must adapt itself to the pace of the changes in the world and will initiate talks on the subject at the movement's ministerial meeting in New York later this month.

This is the basic conclusion of today's talks between the two countries foreign ministers, Budimir Loncar and Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart, who arrived today in Yugoslavia on a short working visit.

Figueredo acquainted Loncar with the situation in the Caribbean region, the drug problem and the activity of the so-called Rio Group, which is made up of eight Latin American countries, one of which is Venezuela.

Loncar spoke in detail about the changes in Eastern Europe which have attracted much attention in South America, about the search for a new system of collective security in Europe, as well as about Yugoslavia's efforts to establish closer cooperation with European integrations.

Further on Talks

LD1504213590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2035 GMT 15 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 15 (TANJUG)—The development of mutual bilateral links is important both to Yugoslavia and Venezuela, particularly because the two countries can besides classical cooperation also promote higher forms of economic collaboration.

This was noted today in Belgrade when member of the Yugoslav Presidency Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski received Venezuelan Foreign Minister Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart, who arrived here yesterday [14 April] on a short working visit.

Tupurkovski and Planchart also discussed current international trends and activities of the Nonaligned Movement, and in particular questions of development, the enhancement of the North-South dialogue and cooperation among nonaligned and developing countries.

Planchart has already held talks with his host, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

Development Secretary at Bonn CSCE Talks

LD1004132190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1126 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Bonn, April 8 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is determined to join the economic and other forms of European cooperation and integration as part of its becoming a country with a market economy and political pluralism, Yugoslav Development Secretary Bozo Marendic told the final plenary economic session of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) here today.

This CSCE meeting, devoted solely to economic cooperation, began on March 19 and ends tomorrow [9 april] with the adoption of the final document.

Stressing that Yugoslavia has opted for even closer cooperation with the European Community (EC) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and that it intends to become a member of the Council of Europe and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Marendic pointed out the importance of regional forms of cooperation such as the "Adriatic initiative", "Alps-Adria" and Balkan cooperation.

Marendic said that the government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic has managed to reduce Yugoslavia's inflation to nearly zero, to boost exports and that foreign investments last year exceeded such investments in the past 20 years. All this has been achieved after Yugoslavia's economy was no longer strictly controlled by the state.

According to Marendic, foreign financial support is very important for the implementation of the program of economic reforms in Yugoslavia and for the beginning of a new cycle of investments.